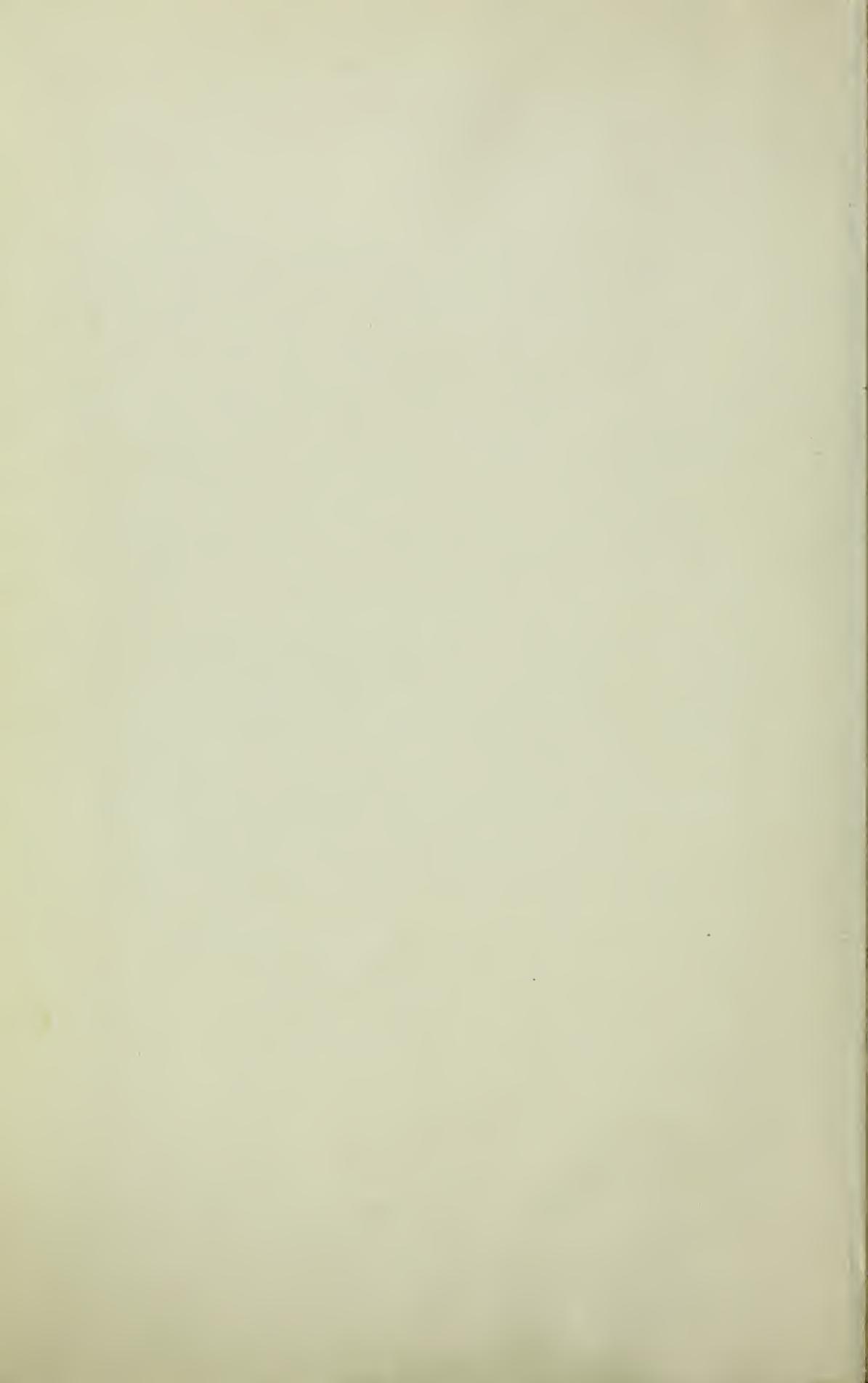


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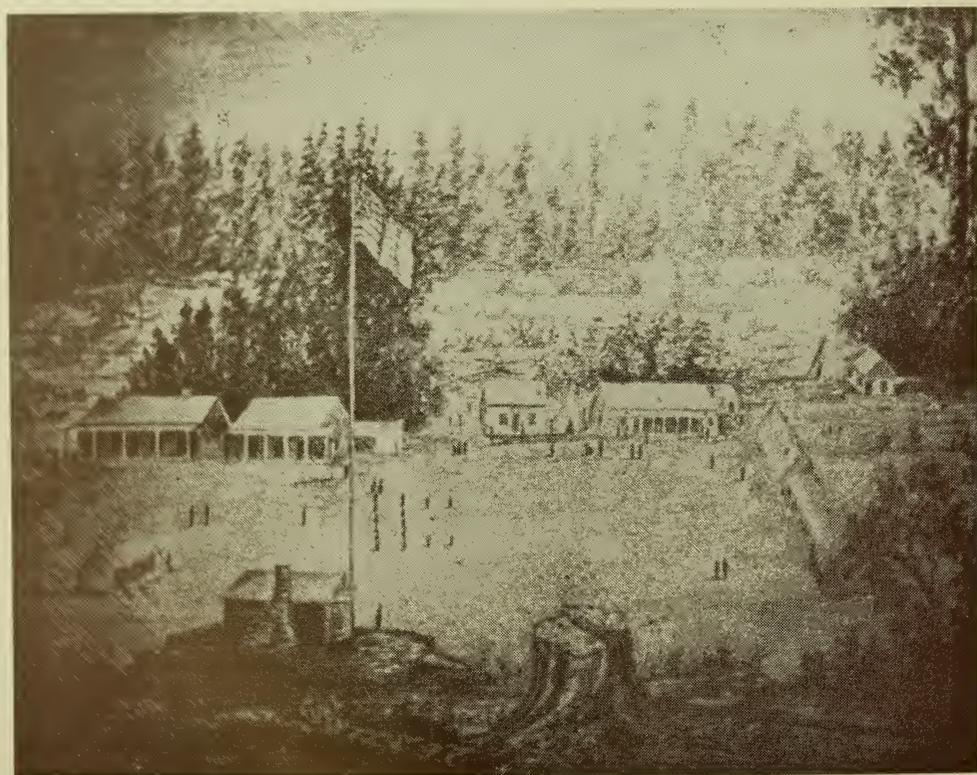
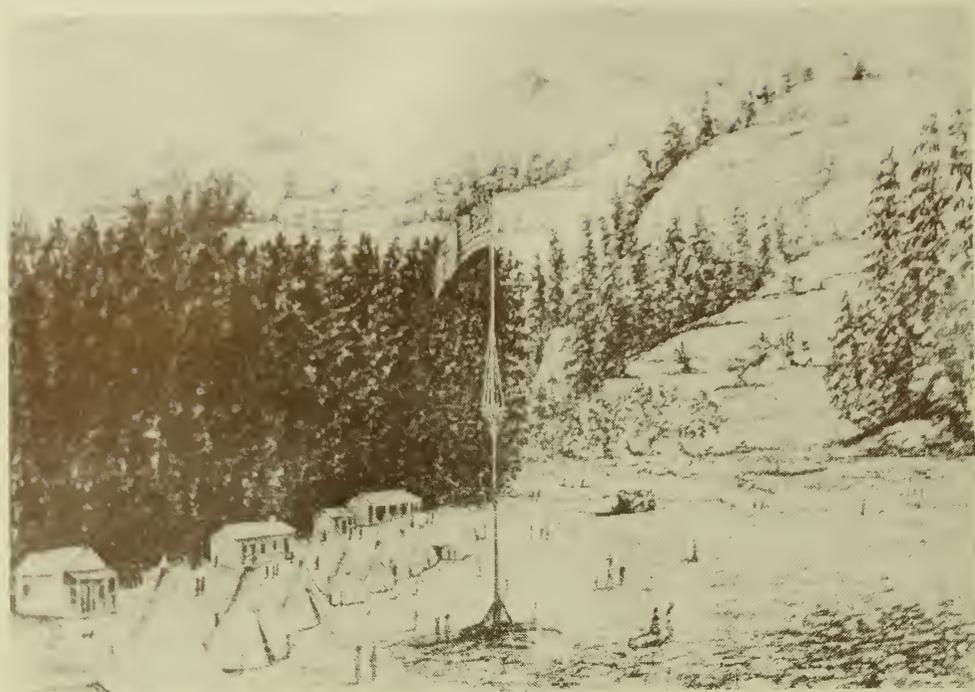
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*See p. 268 for correction to captions of plates IVa and IVb.



Above, FORT TER-WAW IN 1862

Below, GUARD MOUNTING AT CAMP LINCOLN NO. 2 IN 1862

From Sketches by George E. Young

Early Military Posts of Del Norte County

By FRED B. ROGERS

WITHIN the present limits of Del Norte County, California, the principal early military posts were Fort Ter-Waw and two camps, both named Lincoln, hereinafter referred to as Camp Lincoln No. 1 and No. 2 in the order of establishment.

Because of its harbor and location in the net of roads and trails, troops also camped temporarily at Crescent City in connection with debarkation, embarkation, or movements within the general area. One of the earliest of such instances was on June 24, 1855, when a body of 132 infantry under Maj. Henry Prince, 4th U. S. Infantry, en route to Puget Sound on the steamer *America*, made a stay at Crescent City because of the burning of their ship in the harbor. The steamer was beached without loss of life.¹

Crescent City was used as a supply point in connection with the Rogue River Indian War as early as November of 1855, when a government purchasing agent was reported in town with a pack-train of over 100 mules. On January 9, 1856, Capt. De Lancey Floyd-Jones camped there with Company F, 4th U. S. Infantry, having arrived on the brig *Nonesuch* with ammunition and provisions. Rumors of approaching hostile Indians later caused the captain to send half of his command to protect the settlement at Smith River. Intense excitement prevailed but subsided when the Indians turned out to be some Mexicans driving a band of mules in from the mines. Company B, 3rd Artillery, Capt. E. O. C. Ord commanding, joined Captain Floyd-Jones and both companies left on March 15, 1856, to take part in the Rogue River War under Lt. Col. Robert C. Buchanan, 4th U. S. Infantry. A detachment under Lieut. Benjamin Allston, 1st Dragoons, remained at Crescent City. The camp was abandoned in September, 1856. No reservation was formally declared.²

Information regarding the three main posts or camps is scarce and scattered except for that contained in the "Journal of Company G 2nd Inftry C. V.," written by Pvt. George E. Young of that company. Young's journal and pictorial sketches of Fort Ter-Waw and the two camps named Lincoln are important but heretofore little-known contributions to the history of Del Norte County. The sketches of Fort Ter-Waw and Camp Lincoln No. 2 are reproduced with this article; the journal will be quoted frequently.³

Fort Ter-Waw

Fort Ter-Waw, located in the Klamath Reservation on the north bank of the Klamath River about six miles above its mouth, was established October 12, 1857, by 1st Lieut. George Crook and Company D, 4th U. S. Infantry, which arrived from Fort Crook via Fort Jones and Crescent City.⁴

On recommendation of Lieutenant Crook, the fort was given the Indian name of its locality, the spelling "Ter-Waw" being that used by the military.⁵ Construction of the post was practically complete when, on June 28, 1858, Crook and his company left Vancouver, Washington Territory, to participate in a campaign against Indians in the Yakima country. Until Crook returned with his company on October 16, 1858, the post was garrisoned by Company B, 4th U. S. Infantry, which arrived from Fort Humboldt under command of 1st Lieut. J. B. Collins.

Lieutenant Crook, in his autobiography, tells much of the character, habits and traditions of the Indians of the region; and this knowledge and his participation in minor Indian campaigns in northern California, southern Oregon and Washington, formed the beginnings of the reputation he later attained as one of the Army's greatest Indian fighters. The pleasant and rather uneventful stay of Crook and his company was terminated on June 11, 1861, when they left Fort Ter-Waw for the Presidio of San Francisco in compliance with orders from Headquarters, Department of the Pacific.⁶

No sooner was Lieutenant Crook well on his way south than a mass meeting was held at Crescent City protesting the recall of the troops and petitioning the department commander to regarrison Fort Ter-Waw. The plea was successful, for the post was reoccupied August 28, 1861, by Company C, 4th U. S. Infantry, Capt. L. C. Hunt, the latter reporting that transportation from Crescent City to the post had cost \$25 to \$30 per ton. Hunt's company was relieved by Capt. John H. May's Company C, 3rd Infantry, California Volunteers, which arrived November 14, 1861. On January 14, 1862, Captain May reported that the post had been overflowed by the Klamath in flood four times that season, with a loss of seventeen buildings, and that he had been ordered to rebuild the fort.⁷

In order to make May's company available for duty with its regiment on the central overland route, Brig. Gen. George Wright ordered the relief of Company C at Ter-Waw by Company G, 2nd Infantry, California Volunteers, Capt. William W. Stuart commanding,⁸ which will now assume a central position in the narrative that follows.

Captain Stuart's company was part of one of the volunteer regiments formed in California during the Civil War, upon call of President Lincoln to Gov. John G. Downey.⁹ It was organized on September 21, 1861, at a meeting held in the theater at Angel's Camp, when "twenty or more came forward and placed their names to the list of Recruits." Moving via Stockton the company arrived at San Francisco October 9th, where it was mustered in and "marched into quarters at Camp Sumner some three miles from the city." After intensive drill at Camp Sumner, at the Presidio of San Francisco, and at Alcatraz Island, the company sailed March 8, 1862, on the steamer *Oregon* for Crescent City, stopping en route at the harbor of Humboldt, headquarters of the 2nd Regiment, and at Trinidad.¹⁰

Young says: "It was quite dusk when we entered the Harbor of Crescent City and the Steamer's gun gave signal to the Citizens of her arrival. The Soldiers in Squads took to the shore boats and were landed through the surf. The Company was immediately formed in line on shore and marched to Quarters at the upper end of the village which had just been vacated by Company C of the 3d Regiment of Infantry, Cal. Vol. who embarked on board the Steamer."¹¹

After a description of Crescent City and the harbor, Young continues: "The 14th of March Lieut. Wetmore started with the first Detachment of twenty-four Men for Fort Terwaw. On Wednesday the 19th the second Detachment consisting of Corporal Brooks and eight men followed after. [Young was with this party.] We found upon our arrival at the mouth of the Klamath River several Indians with their canoes ready to convey us up the River to the Fort about six miles distant. This was our only conveyance since the old trail made [on] the river's bank was destroyed by the flood of the past winter."¹²

"Little is now left of what once adorned the beautiful residence of the United States Indian Agent at Terwaw. A lone white cottage-like looking building a barn and what was once a mill standing in the midst of a barren sandy bar are all that remain to tell where once was a Government Farm of such value with soil of such rare fertility and gardens of such worth and beauty. The waters have traced upon it a desolate path.

"Opposite the Agency or on the North side of the River is located Fort Terwaw a name derived from the Indian Dialect signifying a 'pretty' or 'nice' place. And so it once was, although far from it at present. Amidst this grand old forest of such mammoth trees this Post once formed a conspicuous and important spot of uncommon beauty. It was situated upon a peninsula of land formed by a sharp bend of the river, of about twenty or twenty-five acres of land in extent clear of timber with a soil of surpassing fertility. Fine improvements had been erected. The Quarters, Barracks, Government Stores and Shops were handsomely arranged for comfort and usefulness and no expense spared to make the Fort a safe retreat and a good and pleasant home! Attached to the Post was a large and fertile Garden filled with every vegetable necessary for kitchen use. The latter bring to a Garrison a most desirable possession.

"But all this property we found in a most deplorable condition. Out of some twenty-five buildings erected at the Post but three were remaining and only two of them any account. All the others had been swept away by the flood and worse than all the valuable garden with its fruitful soil had given place to acres of barren rocks and sand. The former green and extensive Parade Grounds and flourishing Gardens present now the sterile picture of a dry stony bar. * * * Such we found Terwaw and the condition of its Fort as we walked ashore and strolled through a grove of Alder and

Wawkell [pepperwood] trees onto the open spot where once stood the Fort and its improvements on the evening of the 21st of March 1862.¹³

"The next Detachment which included the remainder of the whole Command except the sick left Crescent City March 21st and consisted of some twenty-six in number under charge of Capt. Stuart. Among them were three women and six children. On the afternoon of the second day out the party reached the mouth of the Klamath in safety where as in the case of the first Detachment boats were procured sufficient to carry the women and children and most of the men immediately to the Fort. It was about noon on Sunday the 23d of March they arrived at the Fort. Here they joined the former parties. The women and children withstood the trip remarkably well; one of the ladies, Mrs. Graham even made the journey to the Klamath on foot. The children were packed through on the shoulders of Indians."¹⁴

The site of Fort Ter-waw was between the present village of Klamath Glen and the forest, which is a short distance from it to the northeast. Much of the site was on the present McBeth ranch. Charles P. McBeth, Sr., pointed out to the present writer the locations along the south edge of the forest from which he had removed foundation or fireplace stones of several of the fort's buildings. Mr. McBeth also pointed out two trees near the edge of the forest which show evidence of a cross beam having been placed between them from which, according to Indian tradition, Indians sentenced to death were hung by the troops. One of these trees bears the date 1862 on a blaze.¹⁵

The troops fell to the task of improving their situation at Fort Ter-Waw and made reconnaissances for a suitable trail to Crescent City and to Elk Camp to which a detail of Lieut. John J. Shephard and twenty men had been sent as ordered by Col. Francis J. Lippitt, commanding Humboldt District.

In the meantime, forces were at work which resulted in ending the stay of the company at Ter-Waw. On May 10, 1862, Captain Stuart reported to Colonel Lippitt: "Two-thirds of the male population have left Crescent City and vicinity for the northern mines. There are about 150 families left behind, mostly women and children, and only about thirty men to protect them against the Smith River Indians. All they can raise in Crescent City is about thirty guns, and many of them flintlocks. The people think hard of the reduction of this command, this post being all Del Norte County has to depend upon. With some 800 Klamath Indians in the south, and as many more on Smith River, of the Indians and others [at] Humboldt, and with no assistance at hand they are liable at any moment to be sacrificed. Furthermore, the Hoopas are coming down the river daily in scores to fish and trade on the coast. From reliable information I learn that the Indians in this vicinity are said to have some 400 stand of arms which they keep concealed." Captain Stuart also pointed out that the post was an expensive one to supply

and that it would require an immense amount of labor and material to rebuild it.¹⁶

On May 19, 1862, E. Mason, Judge of the County Court of Del Norte County, by letter reminded George M. Hanson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Northern California, of Hanson's promise to have at least a company of troops in Smith River Valley by April 1, and of Hanson's representation to the citizens of the county that the government would purchase lands there for an Indian reservation. Mason further stated that some women and children had already moved to Crescent City for protection. Hanson in turn requested of General Wright that troops be located "at some good point between Crescent City and Smith River, but nearest the latter, so as not to cross the river into the Indian settlements." Hanson stated that he had removed all, or nearly all, of the Humboldt and Eel River Indians and a few of the Klamath Indians to Smith River, and that these, together with the Smith River Indians, would number about 1,000. General Wright, on May 27, 1862, ordered Captain Stuart to "break up the post at Fort Ter-Waw and proceed with your company to Smith's River, north of Crescent City, and select a post near where the Indians have been recently located. The post must be located within the limits of the Indian reservation, but not too near the Indian camps."¹⁷

The following are excerpts from Young's journal telling of the movement to Smith River: "June 10th [1862] was memorable for the departure of the first Detachment in the evacuation of Fort Terwaw. At an early hour the Captain with 39 men took boats down the river. Every thing was life as with high hopes the men embarked in the numerous canoes that were to float them to the mouth of the Klamath. A short time and the party was at its landing near the mouth of the river. There safely ashore they resecured their knapsacks and set out upon their march over the mountains taking the Trail leading to Crescent City. The 12th was passed as might be supposed in rambling about Town.

"On the morning of the 13th we took up our march for Smith River Valley, some 18 or 20 miles distant. Our way led through the Redwoods, one of those dense forests of gigantic trees which we have before alluded to, of size and dimensions exceeding almost credulity. A light sprinkling rain or heavy mist make the travelling rather muddy but upon the whole the day was favorable for a long march. The Captain accompanied by one or two citizens on horse back led off, the Detachment, Guard and prisoners bringing up the extreme rear. In coming to points where the road branched off or was intersected by others, those had once been 'numbers in good standing' in the old Know Nothing Lodges were frequently struck with the appearance of little bits of paper lying in the road which upon examination turned out to be like those 'drops' and angular slips used by that mysterious dark lanterned order to point to the passing 'brother' the most direct

path to their secret place of meeting or to notify him that his presence was at once wanted on urgent business.

“By the aid of this mute Directory, we of the rear were enabled to trace our way through the windings of the Redwoods arriving at length into an open valley and found ourselves at last on the south bank of Smith River at a point where there purported to be a ferry. After a little delay in getting the Boat to the spot we stepped on board and were soon passed over to the other side. Here we all were now with the exception of prisoner Alcott who taking the advantage of a favorable opportunity among the thickets in the Redwoods had dodged the vigilance of the Guard and made himself safe with a ‘French leave.’ There being no use in following in pursuit, the party moved on.

“A tramp of some 4 or 5 miles through pasture lots, meadows and fields of grain brought us to a nice little snug nook nestled under a hill near a beautiful grove where we halted for the night and were informed that this spot we were to consider as the Headquarters of Company ‘G’ of the Second Regiment of Infantry, California Volunteers—at least for the present. Tired and hungry we commenced preparations for supper. It was now quite dark and all reported arrived except some 3 or 4 who came dropping in during the evening.”¹⁸

Camp Lincoln No. 1

Young continues: “The morning gave us an opportunity to take a wider view and make a more minute examination of the locality of the Camp. It was situated about two miles from the sea shore on a farm having a small Dwelling House and Barn with a Garden and Orchard attached which like the City we had just left bore all the evidence in the world that its inmates were ‘not at home’ and had not been for some time. The men were at once set to work ‘setting things in order.’ A few days elapsed and a great change was made apparent among the ‘things about the place.’ Fences disappeared, old outhouses were levelled to the ground and whole swamps of ‘wind-shaken weeds that embosomed the bower’ were swept away into piles that sunk into ashes before the fire, and soon where there was a dooryard filled with loose sticks and poles and tall grass and vines was seen a large level Parade Ground in the center of which arose a lofty Flag Staff from the top of which the ‘Stars and Stripes’ floated over a tiny little Military Post christened Camp Lincoln.

“The view from the Parade Grounds presented that of a fine extensive agricultural valley. Away upon the left [south] were the Headquarters of the United States Indian Reservation—a beautiful white Mansion and its offices prettily embosomed among the green foliage of an extensive Garden and Grounds surrounding them. To the right [north] or up the Coast were seen cultivated fields and farm houses scattered at intervals. In front [west], fields of grain receded in perspective bounded in the extreme distance by

the gray wastes of the Pacific broken only by an occasional sail of a passing steamer in her upward or downward trips, while in the rear [east] the lofty hills made down abruptly, covered (except here and there a bald brow) with a dense forest of evergreen timber.¹⁹

“June 24. Lieutenant Sheppard with a detachment of twenty men who had left Fort Terwaw in May for Elk Camp arrived at Camp Lincoln reporting the command in good spirits. About this time the people of the Valley began making considerable stir relative to an appropriate celebration of the approaching Fourth of July.”

Here follow descriptions of the preparations and the celebration. Included were a dress parade by the company, the singing of national songs, the oration of the day by Pvt. George E. Young, a special dinner, and a ball. The command held another celebration in August on the occasion of the marriage of Captain Stuart, the company commander, to Miss Basye. In that month James S. Forsman, Assistant Surgeon of the regiment, arrived for duty. Later a report came of Indian depredations near Gold Bluffs. Ranches had been burned and the inhabitants put to flight, “one woman having been taken prisoner, stript of all her clothing and suffered to return in that nude condition, her life being spared only by the timely interposition of some Indians who happened to be acquainted with her and her husband.” Two detachments were sent out to punish the offenders but returned without success.²⁰

On September 11th, 1862, Maj. James E. Curtis having arrived at the camp, assumed command and soon issued an order removing Camp Lincoln to a new site about six miles northeast of Crescent City near the junction of the Smith River road and the Jacksonville Turnpike. This move resulted from a request by Superintendent Hanson to General Wright that the troops be moved from the position “almost in the midst of the Indians” to a site at or near Fort Dick to “serve as protection both to the whites and Indians, who will thereby be kept entirely separate.” Major Curtis did not approve of the site near Fort Dick because it was subject to overflow from the Smith River.²¹

Camp Lincoln No. 2

Young says: “September 12th [1862]. At an early hour the Company were mustered under heavy marching order, the main part of the Company took up the line of march for the site of the New Camp where upon arriving they found some little preparations had been made by five or six men who had been dispatched some days before to clear away things and make ready for the coming Command. This location is a tolerably passable one being situated upon a gentle decline so that the Parade Grounds will be naturally drained during the rainy season. The view from the Flag Staff is quite pleasant although not extensive being encompassed with dense woods.”²²

"Sept. 13th. Company 'C' of the 2d Regiment Infantry, Cal. Vols. under command of Captain M. O'Brien arrived at Camp Lincoln [via the steamer *Panama*]. A Detachment of 1 Sgt. and 12 Privates marched to Crescent City as an Escort for a Band of some 800 Indians which arrived on the Steamer from Humboldt and destined for the Reservation.

"The command had become now enlarged and Battalion Drill was now thoroughly adopted. Preparations were now being made of a permanent character preparatory to the coming winter. A fine Flag Staff, erected, a substantial and commodious Guard House built upon a little eminence commanding a fine view of the Grounds with the Commanding Officer's Residence a tastefully built cottage together with the Officers' Quarters all betoken the establishment of a permanent post. The work of building up the Post now commenced in earnest and was progressing rapidly. Nearly every man turned to Daily Duty and set to work at some thing."²³

In addition to the buildings mentioned above, the post when completed contained two company quarters, a company messroom, a hospital kitchen, a Quartermaster and Commissary storeroom, an officers' messroom and kitchen, several laundress' quarters, a carpenter shop and Quartermaster stable. A sutler's store was several hundred yards to the south and there were several kitchen gardens. At present writing the site of the camp is included in the farm of Samuel F. Finley, Judge of the Superior Court, Del Norte County.²⁴

Young's journal is filled with material which gives an insight into soldier life of the time and place. There were occasional chases after deserters, but very few "scouts" for hostile Indians. Apparently the Indians who chose to remain at Smith River were of a more peaceful sort or were deterred by the presence of troops. Others not peacefully inclined simply left Smith River and made their way through the forests to their old haunts where sporadic warfare continued for several years.

Young tells of swans and canvasbacks at the "Lagoon," now Lake Earl; of Indian maidens being tied to the flag staff by the Sergeant of the Guard (offense not stated); of a concert at Crescent City on Christmas Eve, 1862, by the "Harmonic Minstrels of Companies C and G"; of a few deaths in the command with burials at Crescent City; and of helping young "Billy the Drummer" draft a touching plea to General Wright for restoration to duty from a sentence for desertion. Of course the journal records Young's complaints on various subjects such as the Sunday parades, certain officers, the recruit training, the rain, and the distance to the mess hall. He mentions in a light vein the "amphibious tastes and habits of the habitants of Del Norte County," and the poor quality of whiskey served at Crescent City.

March 31, 1863, came an event awaited for thirteen months: Pay Day! Settlement of debts to the government and to the sutler had priority, whereupon most of those who had any greenbacks remaining took off on the stage

for town. Later came preaching in Company G's quarters by the Reverend Mr. Hinckley. "The meeting called out everybody, Civil and Military, Farmers and their families, Officers with their wives and daughters. All present and accounted for." On April 10th, in accordance with the proclamation of the President, Major Curtis released all the prisoners then in confinement "so that once since its erection the Guard House is empty."

June 7, 1863, an order was read at retreat parade directing Company G to be prepared to march on short notice. On June 10 the order came to leave at 3:00 P. M. that date. But the "Stork" paid no attention to military exigencies, for that very morning a son was born to Mrs. Wren, "the third birth among the laundresses of Company G." The troops marched directly to the shore boats at Crescent City and pushed off to the waiting steamer for Humboldt Bay, where they arrived the next morning at nine o'clock en route to Benicia.²⁵

With our journalist gone, we shall content ourselves with a few remarks on the remaining occupancy of Camp Lincoln No. 2. Company C, 2nd Infantry, California Volunteers remained at Camp Lincoln until October 17, 1864. It was replaced by Company F, 1st Battalion of Mountaineers, which was raised by Capt. Robert Baird at Fort Jones, California, and other places in Siskiyou County. Company C, 6th California Infantry, Capt. Thomas Buckley, arrived at Crescent City from Humboldt Bay via the steamer *Del Norte* on May 8, 1865. The following day it marched to Camp Lincoln where Captain Buckley assumed command on May 10th. Captain Baird's company was mustered out at the camp June 9, 1865.²⁶

It became the sad duty of some elements of the Humboldt District to aid in the recovery of bodies of those lost in the wreck of the *Brother Jonathan* near Crescent City on July 30, 1865. Among the bodies recovered was that of Gen. George Wright, former commander of the Department of the Pacific en route to take command of the Department of the Columbia, and that of Maj. Ellery W. Eddy, paymaster.²⁷

Company C, 6th California Infantry, remained at Camp Lincoln until ordered to the Presidio of San Francisco where it was mustered out December 15, 1865. In the meantime Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell had sent Company G, 9th U. S. Infantry to Camp Lincoln, the first regular troops to serve there. Under Capt. William E. Appleton this company had a longer stay than any predecessor. Gen. E. O. C. Ord reported on August 31, 1869, that Camp Lincoln had been evacuated under instructions dated July 7, 1869. The camp was officially abandoned in May, 1870. There was no formally declared military reservation.²⁸

But one building of the camp, the company officers' quarters, stands today. This is a long frame building of four rooms and two fireplaces. The building is much in need of repair and restoration. A chimney and a partition are demolished, the ceiling sags, and the roof needs replacement.

Unmarked, their purpose served, the early military posts of Del Norte County have passed into virtual oblivion.

NOTES

1. Crescent City *Herald*, June 27, 1855.
2. *Ibid.*, issues of Nov. 21, 1855; Jan. 16, March 5 and 19, 1856. Also "List of Abandoned or Unoccupied Military Posts and Reservations in the Military Division of the Pacific," Hq. Mil. Div. Pacific, San Francisco, Nov. 20, 1876, inclosure to Doc. 2016-1876, Letters Received, Dept. of the Columbia (in National Archives).
3. Young's *Journal* is used by permission of Mrs. Julia E. Caughell and Miss Mabel Curtis, both of Crescent City, daughters of Greenleaf Curtis, former 1st sergeant, Co. G, 2nd Infantry, California Volunteers, who was given the *Journal* by Private Young. These ladies also furnished the sketch of Fort Ter-Waw. The sketch of Camp Lincoln No. 2 was furnished by H. C. Holmes of Oakland.
The *Journal* reveals that Young was a lawyer at Angels Camp, California, prior to enlistment, and that he had a brother, Fuller B. Young, living in Lee Center, Oneida County, New York. A note by Sergeant Curtis states: "G. E. Young served in the Regulars till 1872. I have it from good authority that he died in Arizona about 1873." Young enlisted Sept. 21, 1861, at Angels Camp and was mustered out Sept. 21, 1864, at Fort Yuma on expiration of term of service. (R. H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion*, Sacramento, 1890, p. 483.) Regarding his sketches, Young says on p. 196 of his *Journal*: "Had Photographic Pictures from some of our drawings of Fort Terwaw, Camp Lincoln (old) and Camp Lincoln (new) taken by Eldridge." The photographs of the sketches located by the present writer were made by Bradley and Rulofson, San Francisco.
4. "List of Abandoned Posts . . ." *op. cit.*; *General George Crook: His Autobiography*, ed. by Martin F. Schmitt (Norman, Okla., 1946), pp. 54 (note 5), 55.
5. A. L. Kroeber states: "Terwer was an important summer camp site [of the Yurok] on the north bank [of the Klamath River] between Sa'a'itl and Wohkel"; also "Terwer, at the mouth of the creek of that name." *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, 1925), pp. 10, 73; Crook, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
6. "List of Abandoned Posts . . ." *op. cit.*; *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. 1 (Washington, 1897)—hereafter cited as *Rebellion Records*—L, Pt. I, pp. 428, 494; Crook, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 68-82.
7. *Rebellion Records*, L, Pt. I, pp. 522, 523, 558, 597, 598, 805.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 909.
9. Telegram from Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, to Gov. John G. Downey, Aug. 14, 1861 (in Orton, *op. cit.*, p. 12).
10. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-14.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 22.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
15. The fort location was in general vicinity of the line between Sections 18 and 19, Twp. 13 N., R. 2 E., Humboldt meridian. It undoubtedly occupied portions of both sections. The Klamath Reservation, on which the post was located, was described as a strip of country commencing at the coast of the Pacific Ocean and extending one mile in width on each side of the Klamath River, and up the same 20 miles, approved by the

President, Nov. 16, 1855. *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1866, p. 106, in U. S. Ser. 1284.

16. *Rebellion Records*, L, Pt. I, pp. 952, 1061-63.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 1087, 1093.

18. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-51.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52. Camp Lincoln No. 1 was probably located in the northwest quarter of Section 22, Twp. 18 N., R. 1 W., Humboldt meridian. The reservation headquarters building, considerably altered, still stands in Section 27 of the same township on the farm of Henry Westbrook, Jr. William Bryson was the resident Indian Agent at Smith River when the troops were there. He was killed by Indians near Klamath Bluffs in 1868. The murderer was reported captured by troops sent from Camp Lincoln No. 2 and from Camp Gaston in Hoopa Valley. *Humboldt Times*, Aug. 1, 1868.

20. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

21. *Rebellion Records*, L, Pt. II, pp. 3, 12, 13, 113, 124. Fort Dick, about eight miles north of Crescent City, received its name because of the location there of a log house built by the citizens for defense against the Indians. A. J. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County* (Eureka, 1881), p. 74.

22. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 82; *Rebellion Records*, L, Pt. II, p. 117.

24. The bulk of Camp Lincoln No. 2 was located in the west half of the southwest quarter of Section 36, Twp. 17 N., R. 1 W., Humboldt meridian. A few buildings were immediately west in the adjoining section. In addition to the plan of the camp, the National Archives has on file a drawing showing the elevations and cross-sections of the principal buildings. The present farm residence is east of the location of the original commanding officer's quarters. A prominent feature of the terrain is a wooded, rocky knoll immediately west of the company officers' quarters which still stand.

25. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-209.

26. *Rebellion Records*, L, Pt. II, pp. 1009, 1035, 1230, 1231; Orton, *op. cit.*, pp. 425, 722, 831; *Humboldt Times*, May 13, 1865.

27. *Ibid.*, Aug. 12 and 19, Oct. 14, 1865.

28. Orton, *op. cit.*, p. 722; *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1869, p. 132, in U. S. Serial 1412; "List of Abandoned Posts."

Gran Estrago Del Mar

A REPRINT of historical interest to members of the Society has been received by the editors: "The Reputed Destructive Earthquake of January 16-18, 1840," by Dr. George D. Louderback of the Department of Geology, University of California. It was issued over two years ago in the *Bulletin* of the Seismological Society of America, XXXIV (April 1944), pp. 103-07, but as this publication has a limited circulation, chiefly among specialists in the subject of our "mobile earth," a brief résumé of the article is given here.

Dr. Louderback begins by examining several accounts, of credited historical exactness, regarding an earthquake sufficient in intensity to bring disaster to the Mission of Santa Cruz and its vicinity on January "16-18," 1840. He finds that these reports, while of probable accuracy with respect to the damage wrought, are extremely hypothetical as to the cause, especially the two recurring statements that a tidal wave accompanied the so-called earthquake, and that the duration of the disturbance was from January 16th to 18th.

On his part, the above writer states, first, that California earthquakes of the prevailing type are not accompanied by tidal waves; and, secondly, that a more plausible cause of the damage was the effect of storm conditions along the coast—"gran estrago del mar"—which may well have lasted over a period of two days. Examining further, he finds accounts which emphasize the severity of the rain during the winter of 1839-40; for example, in the *Annual Report* of the Santa Cruz Mission, dated December 31, 1840, the fall of the mission tower is attributed to the abundance of water in the soil and to the weakness of the ground on which the tower was built, owing either to the rain or to floodwaters from San Lorenzo River.

Another piece of evidence confirming Dr. Louderback's conclusion "that there was no severe or destructive earthquake at Santa Cruz in 1840," is the lack of any report emanating from the region between Monterey and San Francisco regarding an earthquake in that year. Surely a seismic disturbance that was strongly felt at Santa Cruz would not have spared all points in the larger area.

Welcome to the Czar's Fleet

An Incident of Civil War Days in San Francisco

By BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

THE band of the U. S. man-of-war, *North Carolina*, struck up "God Save the Czar." Accepting the compliment, the band of the *Alexander Nevskii*, flagship of the Russian Atlantic fleet, played "Yankee Doodle." Loud and hearty cheers followed. The occasion was the arrival of a squadron of the Russian fleet at New York during the fall of 1863.¹

The welcome was enthusiastic. The sinking of a million tons of Northern shipping by Confederate raiders since the start of the Civil War was reason enough for the people of New York to welcome a friendly fleet to their harbor, as it strengthened their diplomatic position. Across the continent in San Francisco, another Russian squadron was welcomed as a protection against Confederate corsairs threatening that city.

The Political Background

Analogous situations—a rebellion within the states of the American Union and an insurrection in Poland—cemented for a while a virtual alliance between the United States and czarist Russia. England, France and Austria were threatening war on Russia unless Czar Alexander II erected in rebellious Poland an independent duchy; and rather than permit foreign interference in the domestic affairs of his country, the czar prepared to defend it. He ordered his fleet from undefended and weak home bases to safety at sea. The small Russian ships could never have defended themselves against a combined British and French naval assault, but on the high seas the picture was different. The quickly maneuverable and steam-propelled Russian vessels were more than a match for the British and French sailing craft; therefore squadrons were stationed, one at New York and one at San Francisco, close to British and French shipping lanes.²

These enemies of Russia were already taking advantage of the civil conflict raging in the United States. England built and repaired Confederate raiders, Napoleon III of France encouraged Maximilian to accept the Mexican throne as emperor, French troops there schemed to render military assistance to the Southern states and planned to invade California and Arizona. In addition, Spain threatened to grasp bases in the Caribbean and in South America. All these hostile acts violated the then forty-year-old doctrine of Monroe, which held as unfriendly the attempts of European powers to extend their systems in the western hemisphere. With such threats to the nation's security, it was small wonder that President Lincoln, struggling to preserve the Union, welcomed the arrival of the Russian fleet with all the pomp and ceremony due an actual ally.

Celebrations in New York

Many courtesies were extended to the Russians in New York. A parade of 30,000, led by Alderman Fromont and Admiral Lisovskii, marched down Fifth Avenue on October 1st, with brass bands playing American and Russian airs, and turned into 14th Street on their way to the City Hall where the royal standard—the dazzling yellow banner of empire with its soaring eagle—was waving beside the Stars and Stripes.³ A ball, sponsored by John Jacob Astor, Hamilton Fish, and Moses Taylor, was given at the Academy of Music in honor of the czar's officers, but greatest honor of all was the visit of the First Lady, with U. S. military officers, to the frigate, *Osliba*. After introduction of dignitaries and a promenade of inspection, Mrs. Lincoln offered a toast to the health of the emperor. In response, Captain Boutakoff toasted the president.⁴

The welcome extended on the west coast will be described in the following paragraphs. Suffice it to say here that the two squadrons remained in New York and in San Francisco during the late fall and winter of 1863-64, Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy, having offered the facilities of the Brooklyn and Mare Island navy yards for the repair and overhauling of the Russian ships.

San Francisco as Host

A shipwreck marked the arrival of the Russian fleet at San Francisco. The steam corvette, *Norvick*, struck a sand beach near Point Reyes at five o'clock on the morning of September 26, 1863, because her officers, believing the ship to be twenty-five miles off shore, were prevented by the thick morning fog from observing land. When attempting to back off, she was turned broadside to the beach by the heavy sea and heaved into from five to ten feet of water. Life boats brought the men ashore, and a Russian lieutenant immediately started out to seek aid. He reached a point near San Quentin where he met a boatman, Charles Driscoll, who rowed him across the waters of the Golden Gate to San Francisco.⁵

William B. Farrell, the collector of the port, upon being notified of the disaster, immediately gave orders for the U. S. revenue cutter, *Shubrick*, to be despatched to the scene of the wreck. Commenting on the arrival of the Russians, the *Daily Alta California*⁶ stated: "We learn that the *Novick* [*sic*] is the van vessel of the Russian fleet under the Russian Admiral Popoff, who is shortly expected here with the remainder of his vessels. In times like the present, this hegira, as it were, of the Czar's vessels to this port from Japan, attests their friendly feelings for the great Republic of the western world."

Accompanying Capt. Charles M. Scammon of the *Shubrick* to Point Reyes was the Russian vice-consul, Klinkestrom. The rescue party found the vessel almost a total wreck, only a small piece of the stern remaining. The *Shubrick* bore up for Drake's Bay, where the crew of 160 Russian

officers and men were safely ashore, except for one man who had been drowned by the capsizing of a life boat. Everything movable was salvaged from the wreck and teams were procured to transport the baggage. The Russians boarded the *Shubrick* which returned to San Francisco, anchoring at Meiggs Wharf.⁷

Within two weeks the Russian corvette, *Bogatyre*, with Admiral Popoff, commander of the Russian Pacific fleet, aboard, arrived in San Francisco. The *Bogatyre*, 2200-ton register, had 312 men and 48 guns.⁸ Almost immediately a court-martial was held by Admiral Popoff relative to the loss of the *Norvick*, and after a thorough investigation her officers were honorably acquitted of any responsibility for the shipwreck.⁹ The salvaged sails, guns, engines, and other relics from the wreck were exhibited in the curiosity shop on Stewart Street owned by Charles Hare, a ship chandler by trade.¹⁰ In the meanwhile, to honor Captain Scammon and the crew of the *Shubrick* for their deed of rescue, the Russian survivors gave a banquet at the Stevenson House, compliments being paid both to the U. S. naval authorities and the San Francisco port officials.¹¹

On October 16, 1863, the Russian steamer, *Gaidamack*, arrived from Nicolaifsky after a voyage of thirty-four days. Captain Pestshowroff was the commanding officer of the 1050-ton vessel which had an engine of 250 horsepower, armament consisting of seven guns, and a complement of 166 officers and men.¹² Two days later the Russian steam corvette *Calevala* passed through the Golden Gate, and her captain, Gelteuchine, fired a salvo saluting Fort Alcatraz and the other Russian ships anchored in the harbor. The *Calevala*, 1300-ton register, carried 196 men and fifteen guns.¹³ On the twenty-eighth the corvette *Abreck*, Captain Pilxin in command, carrying six guns and 140 men and having a 300-horsepower engine, anchored in the bay.¹⁴ On November 8th steamed in the fifth Russian man-of-war, the corvette *Rynda*, Captain Basarguire commanding. This vessel was described as of 800-ton register, crew of 160 men, and eleven guns.¹⁵

Elaborate balls were frequently held in San Francisco to celebrate the visits of foreign ships. Accordingly, soon after the wreck of the *Norvick*, preparations were under way for a ball to be given in honor of the Russian officers. Under the caption, "Warships Coming," the *Daily Alta* related: "Fashionable ladies are much elated at the prospect of a large collection of warships, with a host of officers in this harbor."¹⁶ After seven weeks of preparation, the ball was held at Union Hall. A delectable dinner was served; variety and richness in costume were displayed, but the dancing was hindered by the crowded condition of the hall. Nevertheless, the ovation was described as a success throughout the course of the celebration, from the time Admiral Popoff landed on the Pacific Street wharf until "Home Sweet Home," played by the officiating band.¹⁷

Admiral Popoff showed an appreciation of his kindly welcome to San

Francisco by giving a banquet on his flagship, the frigate *Bogatyre*, in honor of Adm. Charles H. Bell, of the frigate *Lancaster*, commanding officer of the U. S. Pacific squadron. Guests included high-ranking naval officers, Capt. William A. Winder of Fort Alcatraz, Capt. Charles M. Scammon of the *Shubrick*, and the governor of California, Leland Stanford. At the head of the table sat Admiral Popoff, on whose right sat Admiral Bell and on the left, Governor Stanford. The Russian navy band played various national and martial airs, together with the anthems of the United States and Russia.¹⁸

While their ships were being repaired and overhauled at Mare Island Navy Yard, the Russian sailors received some time off from their regular duties. The following article in a local newspaper,¹⁹ under the caption, "A Russian Beverage," indicates what form their enjoyment took:

Four Russian sailors, who were excessively inebriated yesterday, spent last night in the Station House. The proprietor of one of our large drinking saloons informs us that the favorite beverage of the "tars" of the Czar is an admixture of *ale* and *gin*! No wonder our Russian visitors find themselves in the Calaboose, after imbibing such a villainous decoction of fluids.

The next morning a Russian officer called at the police station, had the men released, and returned them to their ships.²⁰

On Friday morning, October 23, 1863, a great conflagration enveloped the financial district of San Francisco in the vicinity of Davis, California, and Sacramento streets. Admiral Popoff ordered a force of his men to help the San Francisco Fire Department combat the blaze. The Russian sailors performed many acts of daring and a few sustained severe injuries. One sailor dislocated his arm and another suffered a badly crushed hand. After the fire was extinguished, the Russian sailors were made the guests of Broderick Engine Company, No. 1, at their fire house.²¹

The citizens of San Francisco showed their appreciation by donating money to aid the injured Russian sailors. Barry and Patten's saloon, southeast corner of Montgomery and Sacramento, became the collection center of the funds, and it was proposed that gold medals bearing suitable inscriptions be presented as testimonials. The local newspapers, commenting editorially on the deeds of the Russian sailors, portrayed them as having demonstrated the cordial feelings existing between the United States and Russia; and by way of official recognition, the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco passed resolutions of thanks, which were framed and presented to Admiral Popoff.²² The following letter²³ of gratitude indicates the appreciative feeling of the fire department:

Chief Engineer's Office, Fire Dept.,
San Francisco, Oct. 24, 1863.

To His Excellency Admiral A. A. Popoff, Commanding H.I.M. fleet in the Pacific and China waters—Dear Sir:

On behalf of myself and the Fire Department of the city of San Francisco, I tender to you our sincere thanks for the generous and efficient service rendered by yourself,

officers and men, in assisting us at the disastrous fire on the morning of the 23d inst. The Department which I have the honor to command, will, in common with the citizens generally ever retain in grateful remembrance, the noble and heroic conduct of Admiral Popoff, and the officers and men under his command.

Very truly yours, etc.
David Scannell,
Chief Engineer, S.F.F.D.

San Francisco Press on International Situation

The Russian squadrons came to New York and San Francisco in their own interests, to prevent a war in Europe, not to aid the Union or prevent English and French interference in the affairs of the United States. Russia did not intend to have her fleet blockaded in home ports as she mistakenly did during the Crimean War. Examples of the success of Confederate cruisers in raiding Union commerce suggested to Russia what she might do to French and English shipping.²⁴ In this vein of reasoning, Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, wrote²⁵ on October 6, 1863, to the English parliamentarian, John Bright, in these words: "Why is that fleet gathered there? My theory is that when it left the Baltic, war with France was regarded as quite possible, and it was determined not to be sealed up at Cronstadt; if at New York, they could take the French expedition at Vera Cruz."

At the time of the Russian visit to American shores there was much speculation in Europe and America regarding the possible existence of an alliance between the United States and Russia. Although there was no formal alliance between the two countries, many persons of high government authority appreciated the friendship of Russia, and the press and the public attested their approval of the friendship.²⁶ The *Daily Alta California*, in an editorial written at the time of the Russian visit and entitled, "Russia and America," portrayed the contemporary feeling toward Russia. The editorial stated²⁷ that Russia was one of the first powers to recognize the independence of America, and continued by praising the Czar Alexander II, who ". . . to all intents and purposes, has now assumed the attitude of defiance towards the powers of England and France. Let the language be couched in what terms state-craft or political diplomacy may suggest, it is, we repeat, an attitude of defiance."

The following excerpts from the editorial will further point out the friendly attitude toward Russia:

Russia, we are happy to see, sympathizes with us in our hour of social affliction.

About the same time that President Lincoln issued his proclamation giving freedom to the slaves, Russia, of its own free will, emancipated the serfs.

Russia has been our natural ally.

Today the world looks upon America and Russia as having attained the apex of civilization in the cultivation of all the practical sciences—in everything that reflects lustre upon a nation and can be beneficial to universal mankind.

It will be noted that one of the excerpts just quoted portrayed Russia as an ally. In an editorial on Alexander II appearing four days later, the same journal alluded to the czar's reforms and condemned the "schemes and intrigues" of Louis Napoleon and the "diplomatic double-shuffling" of the English minister, Lord Palmerston. The article concluded with a reference to an alliance by stating: "The English journals sneer at the idea of an alliance between Washington and St. Petersburg."²⁸ Two weeks later in an editorial on "Our Russian Visitors" the newspaper asserted: "There are rumors that an alliance has been entered into between our country and Russia. If there has been, it is nothing but a formal recognition of a fact which already exists."²⁹

Just at the time of the visit of the Russian fleet, Asbury Harpending and his fellow privateers were convicted on a charge analogous to treason in the Federal Circuit Court of San Francisco for attempting to outfit the *J. M. Chapman* under the flag of the Stars and Bars.³⁰ It was reported that the Confederate cruisers *Sumter* and *Alabama* were sailing Pacific waters and planned to attack San Francisco.³¹ For these reasons it was natural for San Francisco to welcome the presence of the Russian warships.

Admiral Popoff and his squadron afforded some needed protection to San Francisco. He issued orders that if a Confederate corsair should enter the harbor and fire on objectives other than military forts and installations, his ships were to aid the city. If the intruding corsair should fail to heed a warning and open fire, it was to be ordered to leave the harbor, and in case of a refusal it was to be fired upon. Copies of these orders were sent to Alexander Stoeckl, the Russian Ambassador at Washington. Stoeckl in a letter replied to Popoff stating that so far as Russia was concerned there was neither a North nor a South, but a United States; therefore Russia should not interfere with the internal affairs of the country. He instructed Popoff that whatever the Confederate cruisers did in open sea would not concern him. If the corsairs fired on the forts of San Francisco, he was to remain strictly neutral. However, if a corsair passed the forts and threatened the city itself, Stoeckl said:³² ". . . you have then the right, in the name of humanity, and not for political reasons, to prevent this misfortune."

Results of the Visit of the Russian Squadron

While the Russians were being honored in American ports, the czar's enemies awoke to the dangers of an attack at their rear on the Atlantic and Pacific shipping lanes. England and France hesitated to interfere in Poland. Then France offered to compromise, and finally even to aid Russia in quelling the Polish revolt.

In April 1864 the Russian squadrons sailed for home.³³ Both the United States and Russia had profited by the visit; and when the Civil War ended, the United States in an exchange of courtesies sent a naval squadron to St. Petersburg to congratulate Alexander II on his deliverance from an attempt

on his life.³⁴ Moreover, the protection afforded the United States by the visiting fleet figured in our purchase of Alaska, then regarded as barren wasteland, to which the opponents of Secretary of State William Seward, who negotiated the purchase in 1867, had referred in derision as "Seward's Icebox," and "Seward's Folly."

Thus, through circumstances which brought the United States and Russia into a virtual alliance in 1863-64, the Russian navy won her greatest victory without firing a shot, New York and San Francisco harbors received some degree of protection, and, after Lee's capitulation at Appomattox in 1865, French and other would-be invaders were discouraged from attempting conquest in the Americas, while the United States, through orderly purchase, extended its own territory in the Pacific.

NOTES

1. *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 27, 1863.
2. Patrick Laurentz, "Visit of Russian Squadrons in 1863," *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, LXI (May 1935), 692-96.
3. Frank A. Golder, "Russian Fleet and the Civil War," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX (July 1915), 808-12; *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 27, 1863.
4. *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 12, 1863, from *New York Herald* of Sept. 17, 1863. See also Earl S. Pomeroy, "The Visit of the Russian Fleet in 1863," in *New York History*, N. Y. State Hist. Assn., XXIV (Oct. 1943), 512-17.
5. *Daily Alta California*, Sept. 28, 1863.
6. *Idem*.
7. *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1863.
8. *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1863.
9. *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1863.
10. *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1863.
11. *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1863.
12. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1863.
13. *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1863; *San Francisco Directory*, 1863-64, pp. 7-14.
14. *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 29, 1863.
15. *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1863.
16. *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1863.
17. *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1863.
18. *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1863.
19. *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1863.
20. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1863.
21. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1863.
22. *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1863.
23. *Idem*.
24. Laurentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 692-96.
25. Willis Fletcher Johnson, *America's Foreign Relations* (New York, 1916), II, 48.
26. Harold E. Blinn, "Seward and the Polish Rebellion of 1863," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV (July 1940), 828-33; James Morton Callahan, "Russo-American Relations during the American Civil War," *W. Va. Univ. Studies in Am. Hist.*, Ser. 1, Diplomatic History, No. 1 (Jan. 1908), pp. 1-18.
27. *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 4, 1863.
28. *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1863.
29. *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1863. It is interesting to note that in 1863 a book was published in Paris by Felix Aucaigne, entitled *L'Alliance Russo-Americaine*.
30. Benjamin F. Gilbert, "Kentucky Privateers in California," *Register of the Ky. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII (July 1940), 256-66.
31. Golder, *op. cit.*, 809.
32. *Loc. cit.*
33. Golder, *op. cit.*, 812.
34. *Loc. cit.*; Laurentz, *op. cit.*, 692-96.

Documentary

This indenture made the twenty ninth day of May eighteen hundred and forty eight — Witnesseth

That Jacob P. Leese, Jasper O'Farrell and Samuel Norris, have this day entered into a Copartnership for the purpose of conducting mineing [*sic*] operations in California, and also for merchandizing and other traficing [*sic*] connected with said mineing [*sic*] business.

Each partner shall have an equal interest in all the profits arising from this partnership, and shall be equally liable for the debts contracted in conducting said business

This partnership to continue so long as the parties shall mutually agree
In witness whereof we hereunto set our hands and seals

Witness

[SIGNED] C. E. Pickett

F. G. Blume [rubric]

[SIGNED] Jacob P Leese [rubric]

Jasper O'Farrell

Saml Norris [rubric]

On verso:

Agreement of
Copartnership with
Jacob P Leas and
Samuel Norris

From Jasper O'Farrell Papers in California Historical Society Collection

Lances at San Pasqual

By ARTHUR WOODWARD

(Concluded)

Maj. Archibald Gillespie in August of 1859 wrote a letter to Col. E. J. C. ("Alphabet") Kewen,³⁶ giving an explanation of why J. J. Warner had been imprisoned in San Diego:

In reply to your inquiry respecting the imprisonment of J. J. Warner at San Diego during the late war with Mexico and the operations in this country, I have to state, that in the summer of 1846, being military commandant of the Southern Department of the Territory of California, and having the direction of the field with my headquarters at San Diego, I then made the acquaintance of Mr. Warner, however not until a long time after his presence had been desired and expected at that place, as it had been noticed upon the arrival of the U. S. forces at San Diego, in July and August that he had not appeared amongst our countrymen, to unite with us even by his approval, in the acquisition of California.

Mr. Warner, being an American by birth, no one could possibly suspect him of acting a treacherous part towards his countrymen; consequently he came and went from the camp without any interruptions whatever, until, finally, when we were making preparations in November and December for the march upon Los Angeles Mr. Warner's visits became more frequent and his stay shorter, which being remarked, it was discovered that he had given expression of feelings opposed to the war; had denounced the President, Mr. Polk; had deprecated the acquisition of California by the U. S. Arms, had excited the Californians against us, and was really carrying information of our movements to the enemy; had driven horses and mules and cattle near to the Californian forces and into the mountains to prevent their falling into the hands of my foraging parties; this too when he knew his countrymen very much needed subsistence and transportation.

These charges having been officially reported, I was obliged to order the arrest of Mr. Warner, and held him prisoner until compassion induced his release by superior orders.

The feeling of the troops and citizens against Mr. Warner was very strong; his release caused great murmuring, and had any opportunity offered he could not have escaped summary proceedings at their hands.

For myself, I was greatly pained at the unfortunate situation of Mr. Warner, as I felt that his early political prejudices—having ever been violently opposed to the Democratic party—had much to do with his actions at that time.

Daniel Sexton³⁷ was also called upon to testify. He too was with the American forces at San Diego in 1846 and stated:

In the year 1846, Captain [Samuel] Gibson, with a command of twenty-five men were out on a scouting party, and halted a while at Warner's Ranch, when Warner informed Captain Gibson that some five or six hundred gentle animals could be had of some Sonorians a few miles distant, who sent some persons to ascertain the truth of the information. The party sent in quest of the animals were directed to a place where there were about one hundred armed men of the enemy. Upon the return of this party with this information, Warner was arrested and carried into San Diego Mission, where

he was delivered over into the hands of Major Gillespie. Major Gillespie gave orders to his sentries that the tall man, meaning Warner, was a traitor and if he went outside the lines to shoot him.

Soon after, Warner affected to be crazy and Commodore Stockton asked me if I thought it was feigned or real, and urged that he was unwilling to try and execute a crazy man, but if he was not crazy he would be courtmartialled and shot. That he was guilty of betrayal, every man in the army felt confident, and none were found at the time to sympathize with him. The plea of insanity was the only ground upon which he escaped, as I have been informed by Commodore Stockton and Major Gillespie, the penalty of treason.

B. D. Wilson³⁸ was drawn into this dispute, and on August 8, 1859, writing from Lake Vineyard, answered a letter from Warner (who called upon him to refute Kewen's charges) thus:

In answer to your letter enquiring whether "Col. Kewen was authorized to appeal to you (me) in support of what is contained in his speech and card respecting myself (yourself.?) I state that I have said to Col. Kewen that while many of the American residents of this county, including myself, were in close confinement in 1846 as prisoners of war to the Californians, we heard the report that you had betrayed into ambuscade a portion of the American army in San Diego, from whose advance we expected our liberation; that this report was a matter of public notoriety at the time, but that owing to my confinement in Los Angeles I could not speak as to the truth of the report. . . .

Other prominent citizens of the day who participated in the stirring events of 1846 gave varied testimony. Alexander Bell,³⁹ for example, in a letter dated August 8, 1859, from Los Angeles, said:

. . . On the 30th of September 1846 I left Los Angeles in company with Major A. H. Gillespie when he retired from this place. We arrived in San Diego, by water, about the 1st of the following November, where I remained until the 29th or 30th of December, 1846, when I came to Los Angeles with the command of Commodore Stockton.

I have an indistinct recollection that while I was in San Diego I heard that your arrest was caused by a report that you had held communication with the enemy, but I never heard of your having guided a party on any occasion into an ambuscade of the enemy, nor of your having acted as a guide to any American force at any time. Nor do I believe that you ever attempted or could have consented to have been a party to any such transaction. . . .

Don Abel Stearns⁴⁰ made his statement concerning Warner's arrest in 1846:

. . . With regard to your arrest in San Diego in 1846, by this Lieut. Gillespie, I can only say, that a few days subsequent to the occurrence, I arrived there and in conversation with Capt. Fitch, Miguel Pedrorena, Capt. Snook and Jose Antonio Estudillo, then living, (now dead,) and residing in that place, learned that a day or two after the taking of San Diego by the U. S. forces you arrived, and were ordered to the presence of Gillespie then in command of the town.

You were questioned as to whether Gov. Pio Pico or Lt. Col. Castro with their forces or any part of them had passed your rancho for Sonora, and in consequence of your laconic answers to his queries, you were placed in the guard house by his orders, and subsequently released, at the request of some of the above named gentlemen.

Until lately I had never heard you accused of betraying U. S. troops into an ambuscade of the enemy. . . .

John Reed⁴¹ of Rancho del Puente wrote to Warner on August 18th, 1859:

Sir:—In answer to the enquiries you make of me, respecting yourself, and touching your having led the American army, or a part of it, into a situation where it could be attacked by the enemy, I answer that I never heard of it in 1846 or 1847. I left Los Angeles with Major Hensley, and returned with him to Los Angeles. I went to your rancho with him while we were at San Diego. On our return, we met Gillespie about twenty miles from San Diego. While we were at the place of meeting, you came to us, and was either taken or went back to San Diego with us. As for the reports, or your being verbally abused by the Americans, you were no more so than Mr. Stearns, or Mr. Temple, or any other person who took no part with us.

From all the evidence pro and con on this matter, Warner was apparently accused unjustly, some thirteen years later, of having betrayed American soldiers into an ambush; but that he was arrested for having displayed an evident lack of enthusiasm for the political party then in charge of the government of the United States, and, quite possibly, because he was in sympathy with the paisanos in their fight to preserve their lands, is indisputable. One cannot judge the Americans of Warner's day in California too harshly, on the grounds that they did not give instantaneous and full support to the invading American forces. Many of them, Warner included, had become naturalized citizens of Mexico and were married to Californian women. They did not feel justified in taking up arms against the Americans, neither did they feel that they should betray their friends, neighbors and relatives-in-law; hence many of them remained neutral, or as nearly so as possible.

Corroboration of Coronel's statement, given in some detail above, that he was traced from Warner's Ranch to Aguanga, is found in Captain Johnston's diary⁴² under the entries for December 2d and 3d:

. . . We encamped a quarter of a mile west of the warm spring. Having heard of a herd of mules 15 miles hence, belonging to Flores, the insurgent chief, Lieutenant [J. W.] Davidson, with 25 men, was despatched with Carson and Sanders, to see if we could get a remount; they started at dark. . . .

December 3.—Lieutenant Davidson and Carson returned about noon, with a large gang of tame and wild animals, most of which are said to belong to Flores, the Californian general.

Emory⁴³ describes the incident thus:

Information was received on the 2d, that fifteen miles distant, on the road to the Pueblo [Los Angeles], a band of horses and mules were cached, belonging to General Flores and others. Tired as our people were, nightfall found twenty-five of them in the saddle, with fresh horses, under the command of Lieut. Davidson, accompanied by Carson, on their way in pursuit of the cache. Davidson was successful, and returned with the horses on the 3d, about meridian; but the animals, like those we captured at the mouth of the Gila, were mostly unbroken, and not of much service.

Dr. Griffin⁴⁴ stated that “. . . Davidson also captured several guns, & lances, one very fine rifle.” The latter piece may well have been Coronel's own gun.

While at Warner's, General Kearny was told that a Mr. Stokes, an Eng-

lishman, lived at the Santa Ysabel Ranch, about fifteen miles southeast of Warner's.⁴⁵ Kearny sent Bill Marshall to ask the gentleman to come to Warner's, and within about three hours Señor Eduardo Stokes was in conference with the commander of the dragoons. Stokes frankly told Kearny that he, an Englishman, married to a daughter of José Joaquín Ortega, was a neutral. On the other hand, he volunteered information that the Californians were in possession of all the country between San Diego and Santa Barbara; that Commodore Robert Field Stockton was, however, in command of San Diego and was holding the port without any trouble. The ranchero said also that he was going to San Diego the following day (3d December) and would carry any despatches the general cared to send. Accordingly Kearny⁴⁶ sent the following letter to Commodore Stockton:

Head-quarters, Army of the West,
Camp at Warner's, December 2, 1846.

Sir: I this afternoon reached here, escorted by a party of the 1st regiment dragoons. I come by orders from the President of the United States. We left Santa Fe on the 25th September, having taken possession of New Mexico, annexed it to the United States, established a civil government in that territory, and secured order, peace, and quietness there.

If you can send a party to open communication with us on the route to this place, and to inform me of the state of affairs in California, I wish you would do so, and as quickly as possible.

The fear of this letter falling into Mexican hands prevents me from writing more.

Your express by Mr. Carson was met on the Del Norte; and your mail must have reached Washington at least ten days since.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. W. Kearny,
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

Commodore Stockton acted promptly upon Kearny's request for reinforcements.⁴⁷ At 8 p.m. the night of December 3d, Capt. Archibald Gillespie marched out of Old Town, San Diego, with a force of 26 volunteers under Capt. Samuel Gibson, Lieut. Edward F. Beale of the *Congress*, Passed Midshipman James M. Duncan, ten carbineers and a small brass four-pounder, the famous "Sutter gun," to reinforce Kearny's ragged troops.⁴⁸ The night was brilliant with moonlight, and as cold and clear as it sometimes is during a southern California winter.

At this time there were two main roads leading into the back country of San Diego—if horse trails and narrow, two-wheeled carreta ruts could be called roads. One of these led through Mission Valley, climbed up the narrow cañon and eventually came out near the present site of Santee on the Rancho de Santa Monica, otherwise known as El Cajon. Thence the trail continued over the hills, north-northwest, across steep ridges and through small upland valleys covered with wild oats, sycamores, cottonwoods, and oaks, debouching at last into the broad rolling lands of the Pamo Valley, also known as the Santa Maria Valley.⁴⁹

Unseen eyes, peering from adobe huts in Mission Valley, watched Gillespie and his men ride north into the mountains. One of these quiet watchers, according to Pablo Véjar,⁵⁰ was Mariquita, sister of Andrés Pico. She scribbled a note which she sent posthaste to her brother, telling him that Gillespie and a force of men had sallied forth to join another group of Americanos in the mountains. Pico had already been advised by friendly Indians that Gillespie was on the move, bound for the Sierra. Thus did the "moccasin telegraph" function in the days before telephones and radio.

When the messages reached him, Pico was camped at Rancho Soledad, some four leagues northwest of San Diego. He disbelieved the story that Gillespie was going out to join another force. Por Dios! Did he not know that all of the Americans were boxed up in San Diego? No, El Señor Gillespie was out to steal cattle and sheep to feed the starving gringos in Old Town. This time he, Andrés Pico, would settle Gillespie once and for all!

He reasoned that Gillespie, knowing the country, would drive his ill-gotten herds of live stock back into San Diego by the San Pascual road; and when he did, Andrés Pico and his "Galgos" (Greyhounds) would be there waiting, with ready lances, to spit Gillespie and his men like so many sheep. Pico then sent a few men over the Santa Monica trail while he took the major portion of his force, about seventy-two men in all, and rode toward the humble Indian village of San Pascual, some thirty miles distant from San Diego.

This San Pascual road was the second trail connecting San Diego with Santa Maria, Santa Ysabel and Warner's.⁵¹ It was a narrow, rough trace that left San Pascual Valley approximately opposite the Indian village and angled north-northeast up a long, narrow hog-back until it reached the uplands, a series of low, rolling hills; thence it led through the brush for about seven miles, until it came out upon the open lands in the western part of the Santa Maria Valley. Eventually it meandered by the small adobe house owned by Eduardo Stokes,⁵² which stood on the north bank of Santa Maria Creek at the base of a steep brushy hill. From the Stokes' ranch house the path twisted back and forth along the hillside until it passed through a narrow valley now known as Rose Glen; then, by an easy ascent, it climbed through the live-oaks until it dropped into the upper end of Ballena; thence by another cañon pass, still upward, into the narrow defile of Witch Creek, emerging once again upon open grasslands, studded with huge live-oaks, covering the rounded tops of the hills that fringe the south side of the Santa Ysabel Valley.

On the morning of December 4th, we have this three-scene picture: The weather has changed from clear and cold, and Kearny and his weary troops can be observed marching southward from Warner's Ranch in the driving rain, headed for Stokes' second ranch at Santa Ysabel—the abandoned asistencia formerly owned by Mission San Diego. Gillespie and his men, equally

wet, have left their camp ground on the Rancho Santa Monica by 3 a. m. and are headed for Stokes' small ranch house on the banks of the dry Santa Maria Creek.⁵³ Andrés Pico and his force have ridden into the Indian village of San Pascual and are camped in the adobe huts.⁵⁴ They have turned their horses out to graze in the northern end of the valley, where the San Dieguito River tumbles, brawling, out of the maze of sleek, gray, granite boulders, into the comparative quiet of the broad river-bed fringed with willows and cottonwoods.

General Kearny and his dragoons did not break camp until nine o'clock on that morning of December 4th. The murky sky was pregnant with rain, and by the time the bugle blew the advance, the heavens opened and rain had pelted down upon the miserable men, as we saw above, humped over in their saddles on their fifteen-mile journey to the old asistencia of Santa Ysabel.

At one time this was a flourishing little mission with a quadrangle nearly as large as at San Luis Rey. In 1839 Father Vicente Pascual Olivas, answering a petition of José Joaquín Ortega (Stokes' father-in-law) for Santa Ysabel, said:⁵⁵

The locality of Santa Ysabel is not vacant land as the petitioner says in his representation; it is now a Mission with church, cemetery and other requisites of a civilized Pueblo, and the Priest does not reside in it only because of the scarcity of priests. The Indians of the said Mission have their plantings of wheat, barley, corn, beans, peas and other plants for their sustenance, and two vineyards, with their gardens, their horse stock; and in summer their lands occupied with sheep. And if the government should grant this land to the petitioner to what point will it banish the Indians, now 580 souls? The law says the native possessors of the soil are its true owners. *Melior est conditio possidentis*. This is all the report I can make upon this subject.

Mission of San Diego, May 7th, 1839. In the absence of the administrator,

P. Vicente Pascual Olivas.

But on August 4th, 1844, the Reverend Father finally gave in. He said:⁵⁶

In consequence of there not being any possibility of improvement of the ranch at Sta. Isabel belonging to the Mission, all right of the Mission thereto is ceded: there does not exist on the said premises more than a few crumbling walls and two small vineyards with a small number of vines in good condition which also are ceded in consideration of 150 cows killed by Ortega for the neophytes of this Mission.

Accordingly on November 9th, 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltona granted to José Joaquín Ortega and Eduardo Stokes four square leagues of land known as the Rancho Santa Ysabel.⁵⁷

At that time the adobe chapel was in good condition. The small brush and mud huts of the Indians were huddled around it, and on the flats were their fields and peach orchards, with pasture lands extending up the valley for some three miles. It presented much the same picture in 1846, when Kearny and his "Army of the West" sloshed through Carrizito Cañon from Buena Vista and halted in front of the locked chapel, which had been converted into a residence by Stokes.

All during the miserable ride from Warner's, the officers and men had comforted themselves with visions of a blazing fire and plenty to eat and drink. Instead, they huddled shivering against the buildings until Sailor Bill, a deserter from an English merchantman some ten years previously and now major domo for Stokes, produced a set of huge iron keys and opened the chapel. But in common with the majority of California houses of those days there was no fireplace in the living quarters, the only chimney about the ranchería being in the kitchen, which was separate from the rest of the house; so the dragoons built roaring fires out-of-doors and stood around them, steaming, while the rain spat at the embers and the naked Diegueño Indians, drawn by the warmth of the flames, gazed soberly at the newcomers.

Kearny and his officers went into the cold chapel, where they were, according to Emory, "obliged to stand, cracking our heels. . . ." Sailor "Beel," as he was called, made good use of his keys and produced the ingredients of a meal, as well as a plentiful supply of not-too-good wine. But then, even as now, soldiers had a way of "liberating" things; in spite of their fuming, the officers had to wait two hours longer because the dragoons stole the food which "Beel" had prepared for them.⁵⁸ Eventually, however, they ate heartily of stewed and roast mutton, tortillas and wine.

On the following morning, Kearny ordered his men into the saddle for their ride to Santa Maria. It was still raining, with the wind from the west and dark clouds sweeping low across the oak-covered Mesa Grande to the southwest. The taller peaks of the Cuyamacas to the east were hidden from sight under the threatening gray blanket.

The Indians hovered around the fires and stolidly watched the soldiers go. The previous night, speaking through their leader (probably Capitán Lázaro), they had told Kearny that they were peaceable folk and wanted no part in the war. All they wanted to do was live in peace and work. The general agreed that this was an excellent thing to do. He advised them to forget the troubles between the Californians and the Americans and go about their business.⁵⁹

Being uncertain of the road south, Kearny impressed Sailor Bill into service as a guide.⁶⁰ It appeared that the latter had spent the evening trying to drive the chill from his bones with Stokes' liquor and was in consequence befuddled. He took the wrong path and, after being thrown from his horse, lost interest in guiding and decided that he would round up horses instead. Kearny thought otherwise and persuaded Bill to try again—with an armed guard riding on either side of him. When the general put it in that light, Bill decided to cooperate and set them on the right road.

On the same morning (December 5th), Gillespie and his small detachment set out in the rain from Stokes' ranch house at Santa Maria and took the steep hill towards Santa Ysabel. He sent a scout in advance, who reported

back around 1 p. m., after having reached a point about midway between Santa Maria and Santa Ysabel. This would be approximately at the site of the present Ballena, a short distance from Witch Creek. Gillespie now ordered the flag unfurled and with colors flying—the first time the Stars and Stripes had ever floated over the back country—the small band of reinforcements rode forward to meet Kearny on the heights above Santa Ysabel.⁶¹

The newcomers were warmly greeted by Kearny and his officers. Gillespie reported on the conditions at San Diego and said it had been rumored there that a force of Californians were at El Cajon, to dispute the passage of his forces while en route to join Kearny, but that there were no signs of a party having been in that region.

Gillespie had apparently heard of the Pico contingent encamped at San Pascual. He advised that it would be easy to “beat up” Pico’s camp; that is, send out a scouting party to determine its position, numbers of men, etc., and he offered himself and his detachment for the purpose but Kearny refused to let him go.

The time was now about 2:30 p. m. The rain had ceased for the moment but the clouds were still threatening, and the wind blew cold and strong from the mountains, the tops of which were covered with snow. Kearny wanted to march immediately for Santa Maria to pitch camp. Gillespie warned him that there was no feed nor water near the ranch house; he also requested permission to rest his command for an hour or so, and let the horses graze in a small dell some two miles back where there was plenty of grass. (This place was about on the site of the present schoolhouse at Witch Creek and along the trail that led into Ballena.)

Kearny agreed to this and Gillespie fell back and unsaddled, while the dragoons rode past them down the trail to Santa Maria. As Gillespie had predicted, the general found no forage⁶² for his horses, making it necessary for him to press on two miles further to a small valley with huge live oaks and plenty of feed but no water. Quite likely Kearny’s last camp⁶³ before his ill-fated engagement was under these oaks at the head of Clevenger Cañon. The place tallies with the description given, and lies about an eighth or a quarter of a mile west of the old San Pascual hill trail. It was dark when the dragoons pitched camp. The rain had recommenced and was falling in sheets on the cold and hungry men.

Gillespie followed in Kearny’s wake as far as Stokes’ ranch house. There he camped. Many of his party were “mountain men,” clad in buckskins and tough as whang-leather.⁶⁴ They too were tired, but they considered their lot superior to that of Kearny’s troops, and as soon as camp was made they began to clean their arms while Passed Midshipman Duncan and Lieutenant Beale⁶⁵ started grooming the Sutter gun, with whose history they must have been familiar. It was cast originally at St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1804, and

was one of the cannon mounted at Fort Ross. When John A. Sutter bought out the Russian establishment in 1841, he transferred the little brass bulldog to his fort at New Helvetia. In 1845, at the time of the Castro revolt, Sutter joined forces with Micheltorena and the stubby cannon went along. It was captured by Castro, was in turn captured by the Americans, and in 1846 was taken to San Diego.

The gun was 40 inches in length, had a 3½-inch bore, and the chamber, which ran to a point at the vent, took a charge of 8 ounces of powder. Its cast handles enabled the Sutter gun to be lifted easily by two men; and with its wheeled carriage it constituted the only piece of artillery in working condition in the fight at San Pascual.⁶⁶

Shortly after dark, Capt. A. R. Johnston, Kearny's aide-de-camp, rode into Gillespie's camp and said that the general would like to use Rafael Machado, the native Californian scout attached to Gillespie's command, as a guide for a party under Lieut. Thomas C. Hammond, which was going forward to reconnoiter the enemy's camp under cover of darkness.⁶⁷ Gillespie requested Johnston to present his compliments to the general with the suggestion that Gillespie's mountain men, being in better condition for such a task, would be glad to make the trip and thus spare the worn-out dragoons.

It was not a night for suggestions, as Gillespie soon discovered. Earlier in the evening Kearny called a council of war among his officers, Lieutenant Hammond, Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, and Captain Johnston. It was proposed by Kearny that a night scouting expedition be made, and, following the receipt of information based upon this, a plan of attack in the early dawn was to be formulated.

According to George Pearce,⁶⁸ who was Kearny's personal messenger that evening, this plan was vetoed by Moore, who argued that the enemy would almost certainly discover the presence of the scouting party, would therefore be on the alert, and all hope of making a sudden surprise attack be nil. Moreover, if such an attack were attempted, the enemy, being in better condition and rated as among the best horsemen in the world, would have the advantage over the poorly mounted, half-starved troopers in Kearny's command. If an attack were to be made, why not launch it at once in force, and trust to darkness and luck to carry them through?

As a matter of fact, if one is to believe Don Lorenzo Soto,⁶⁹ Andrés Pico had been advised that the Americans were on the march against him by an Indian, who had come down from the hills and had been in Kearny's camp. Pico, for some reason, stubbornly refused to believe the Indian's story. Pablo Véjar⁷⁰ goes even further:

The Indians on their own initiative, without having been ordered to do so, went forward, exploring and spying upon the movements of the Americans and brought back to us this information. Knowing from the reports of these Indians that the enemy was

near I recommended to Pico that we send out an advance patrol, and he answered me saying that it was not necessary, that the road was worse than that down Santa Inez hill, and that it was impossible for the Americans to come over it at night with their cannon.

Véjar adds a bit dryly that he did not attribute Pico's reticence to any intrigue with the enemy, but rather to his lack of experience.

It would seem from all accounts, that both Pico and Kearny stubbornly refused to credit the intelligence of their subordinates. Lieut. E. F. Beale, earlier in the afternoon, had advised Kearny not to go forward over the San Pascual road because it was rough and the strength of the enemy undetermined.

It seems difficult, judging by all that is now known of this action, to understand Kearny, who, after all, was a veteran campaigner.⁷¹ With very little effort, he could have avoided a fight and thus have spared his men.⁷² He knew that the road into San Diego via Rancho El Cajon and Mission Valley was but lightly guarded, if at all. Gillespie and his men had pushed through unmolested. The heaviest concentration of enemy forces, unknown at the time but rumored to be from 90 to 200 men, was at San Pasqual.⁷³ Consequently the Americans could have taken the open road to San Diego from Santa Maria without any opposition. The distance was approximately the same, and, although it was probably a little rougher, in the long run it would have been the sanest and most humane thing to do. One can only suppose that Kearny, having made one of the longest marches in the history of the United States army, was spoiling for a fight and intended to have it.

In spite of all arguments to the contrary, Kearny sent forward Lieutenant Hammond with Machado and a detail of men. It must have been a strange ride through the wet sagebrush and wild oats, over a narrow winding trail with the chaparral lashing out at them as they rode. Having walked over that trail in the day time, and realizing that the country is probably more open now than in Kearny's time, I can sympathize quite fully with the unfortunate dragoons who accompanied the lieutenant and the Californian guide over the uneven terrain in the dead of night.

Eventually they came out on the summit of the rocky, brush-covered ridge that overlooks the valley of San Pascual. About a mile and a half ahead of them they could see the camp fires of Pico's men, who were bivouacked among the huts of the Diegueño Indians.

The Indians in the valley had formerly been attached to Mission San Diego. Upon being dispossessed by the secularization of the missions, San Pascual village was founded by 81 of these desfilados in November of 1835. Two other Indian pueblos, those of Las Flores on the Santa Margarita Rancho, and San Dieguito, were established at the same time. The Mexican government guaranteed the rights of possession to these unfortunate refugees, and as late as 1846 refused a petition of Bonifacio López to take over San Pascual lands for pasturing his stock, asserting that the Indians were the

rightful owners of the land although they had no individual deeds to the property.⁷⁴

The houses of the village, built of adobe and wattle and daub, were scattered along the bench lands above the river bed on the west side of the valley. In after years the crumbling remains of one of these huts stood on a slight knoll south of the main Ramona-Escondido highway and was known locally as "Fremont's Fort." Across the valley from hill to hill, the distance is roughly three-quarters of a mile—perhaps a trifle more at the point where the old San Pascual trail debouches from the ridge into the river bottom.

When Andrés Pico first encamped at the village he ordered all of the horses turned out to graze, under the care of Indian herdsmen, some two or three miles north of the pueblo. The men under Pico did not like this at all, as a Californian separated from his mount was always an unhappy man. These rancheros were particularly uneasy because they did not know at what hour the enemy might suddenly appear; furthermore, they did not trust the Indian herdsmen.

There was also an ugly suspicion in the Californian camp that their leader would surrender to the Americans at the first opportunity, or he would run.⁷⁵ When he gave the order to picket the horses so far from camp, according to Juan Bautista Moreno,⁷⁶ one of his captains, these suspicions seemed justified. Moreover, Pico, it was averred, was receiving messages daily from Flores in Los Angeles and was not telling his men all of the news.⁷⁷ This added to their dissatisfaction. They were not professional soldiers, the majority of them having left their homes and families in and around Los Angeles. The days being so uncertain, what with armed gringos coming from all directions, it was no time to be away from home too long, no señor!

As a result of these suspicions, José Serrano⁷⁸ and four of his companions kept their saddle horses tied up at the camp ground, ready for any emergency. From the way in which events developed that night of December 5th, they were justified in their actions.

When Hammond and his men saw the fires, they halted, and the lieutenant sent Machado ahead to learn what he could about the numbers and disposition of the enemy forces. According to Pearce, who heard the report of the scouting party after it returned to camp, Machado was accompanied by Sgt. Richard Williams. These two worked their way across the valley until they came near one of the huts. Through the open door they could see a number of blanketed forms lying on the floor and a lone Indian sitting by the fire. Machado beckoned this man outside and began questioning him. Unfortunately, however, a small dog, snooping about, caught the scent of the main body of American scouts and began barking.

It was about 11 p. m. and blacker than the inside of a witch's hat. The Californian sentry, José María Ibarra,⁷⁹ stationed in front of the camp, saw

no one, and Machado and Williams immediately withdrew, making a wide circle to rejoin their comrades.

About this time Andrés Pico, aroused by the yapping of the dog, shouted: "Sentry, who is the officer of the day?" "Don José Alipás," answered the sentinel.

Pico then told Alipás to ride toward the mountain to see if the dog were barking at anyone. He had not ridden very far when he heard Ibarra shout three times in a loud voice: "Quién vive!" ("Who goes there?")

There was a sound of pounding hoofs in the darkness, the subdued jingle of accouterments and the crash of heavy bodies breaking through the sodden brush. Alipás immediately shouted, "To arms!" and a patrol under Moreno set out to see what they could find. The moon broke out about this time and Moreno swore that the patrol consisted of about eight or ten men.

There was great confusion in the Californian camp. Here was the emergency, and most of the men were afoot. Pico still did not believe the disturbers of the night were enemy horsemen. Véjar discovered that three of his men had no weapons; they were in the care of Pico, and when Véjar requested three rounds of cartridges apiece, Pico denied the request.⁸⁰ Moreno and his patrol went on foot to the bottom of the hill and returned with an army blanket stamped "U.S." and a dragoon jacket. Even Pico could not deny this evidence. He ordered the horses rounded up, and Véjar, as captain of a company, told each man to saddle whatever animal came first to his hand.

If one is to believe Pablo Véjar, Pico, even at this late date, did not issue any coherent orders for a proper disposition of his troops.

Véjar, according to his own account, was born at the Presidio de San Diego, February 20, 1802. His father was Salvador Véjar, a native of Tepic and a carpenter at the presidio. His mother was María Josefa López, daughter of Francisco López, who had been one of the soldier-founders of San Diego. When the revolt against Gillespie occurred in Los Angeles, Véjar immediately took down his lance and went to war. Five companies were formed. He was captain of the first company; Bautista Moreno led the second; Gregorio Atensio, a native of New Mexico, was in command of the third; Leonardo Higuera, from Lower California, of the fourth, and Nicolás Hermosillo, a native of Old Mexico, captained the fifth company. At first this small force was under the command of the hot-headed Cérbulo Varelas, who led the attack on Gillespie; but later, when the paisanos realized they needed someone more versed in the art of warfare, they elected Capitán Don José María Flores as commander-in-chief of all their forces.⁸¹

The Californios under Flores were then divided into three main squadrons of cavalry of about 133 men each. One of these squadrons was commanded by Andrés Pico, another by Manuel Garfias and the third by José Antonio Carrillo. In the customary, flamboyant style of the day, each of

these outfits received a nickname. Pico's men were *Los Galgos* (The Greyhounds); the *rancheros* under Garfias became *Las Arañas* (The Spiders); the troopers of Carrillo were known somewhat derisively as *Las Hilachas* (The Ragged Ones).⁸² All were armed with lances.⁸³ There were some swords, a few rusty flintlocks and a scattering of old pistols.

The *lanzas* were forged at Mission San Fernando and at some of the neighboring ranchos. Their blades were nine or ten inches in length and about one and one-half inches in width at the base, and were made out of iron used for hoops or any convenient scrap-iron. They were tanged and set into shafts of mountain laurel or ash, cut on the nearby hills, and ranged in length from six to eight feet. Each lance bore a gay red, white and green pennon, fastened at the base of the blade. (After the battle of San Pascual some of the bravos flaunted these pennons, stained with blood, in the faces of the Americans in San Diego and nearly caused a riot.) Lances were deadly stingers in the hands of men long accustomed to their usage.⁸⁴

Tradition also mentions the presence of one or two of the old, double-oval, rawhide *adargas* or shields, which had been in vogue as defensive armor in California since the first days of the *entrada* in 1769, but I have never been able to secure any definite evidence that any of these shields were carried at San Pascual.

After the formation of the three cavalry divisions, a council-of-war, held at Los Angeles, indicated that most of the Californios believed the Americans would first attack Santa Barbara and San Diego. Accordingly, Andrés Pico and his men were despatched to the latter point, while Garfias and his "Spiders" rode north to Santa Barbara, leaving the Carrillo detachment as home guards at Los Angeles.⁸⁵

Véjar states that after the battle of Domínguez Rancho, when the Americans had been driven back to their ships at San Pedro, he remained around Los Angeles for some days and was then ordered to march, with about 25 of his men, to join Pico, who was en route to San Diego. With Véjar's company was a part of Bautista Moreno's second company, as well as a portion of the fifth *compañía* under Hermosillo. The entire force totalled 112 men.

Prior to Pico's advance on San Diego, a small force under Leonardo Cota and José Alipás had moved south to harass the gringos. Pico rode as far as Rancho Soledad, about four leagues from San Diego, where he learned that Gillespie had left San Diego, secretly, with a small force headed north into the mountains, presumably on a stock-raiding expedition. Upon receiving this news Pico divided his forces, sending a few of them to camp upon Gillespie's trail, while he, with the remainder—some 75 in all—rode northwest to San Pascual, where he hoped to intercept Gillespie upon the latter's return to San Diego.

But let us return to the dragoon patrol, which was last seen heading back up the long brushy ridge toward the American camp. The tired men arrived

at Kearny's headquarters about 11 p. m. Kearny, knowing the enemy was now alerted, decided to move out immediately. Earlier in the evening, Lieutenant Beale and Alexis Godey⁸⁶ had ridden to the main camp to see Kearny and receive orders for the next day. About 2 a. m., December 6th, the general issued orders to have the volunteer battalion ready for the trail in half an hour.

Gillespie immediately swung into action. His men mounted their horses at once. The short distance between their camp at the Stokes' adobe and the cheerless bivouac was covered in short order and they were lined up in a column of twos on the San Pascual trail, with the little Sutter gun in the van, when Kearny rode up about half an hour later.

The rain had ceased and the moon was shining brightly. It was bitterly cold in the mountains. The blankets of the wet and weary dragoons were white with frost and stiff as boards. It was still three hours till daybreak when they stumbled out of their bunks on the wet ground, dazed and scarcely aware of what was happening. There were no bugle calls, only the harsh, croaking voices of the sergeants and the clatter of equipment as the men crawled into the saddle and sat with chattering teeth, awaiting the order to march.

Gillespie, having seen the condition of Kearny's two jinx guns—the 12-pound mountain howitzers—suggested that Sutter's gun might go forward with some of the battalion artillerymen, who were young men and spoiling for a fight. This was no morning for suggestions.

"Take that gun to the rear, sir," ordered Kearny.

Silently Gillespie obeyed, and to add injury to insult the volunteer battalion was ordered to fall back and aid in guarding the baggage train under the command of Maj. Thomas Swords.

At last the column moved out, with an icy north wind blowing down on them from the snow-covered mountains of Mesa Grande and the more distant Cuyamacas. To Lieutenant Moore was given the honor of leading the advance as far as San Pascual. Now the reaction was setting in; the men, half awake, were like automatons. Their hands were so cold they could scarcely hold the bridle reins, and the half-broken Californian horses and mules took full advantage of the helplessness of their riders.

The moon was down, the morning gray, with low-hanging clouds and fog. There was little talking on that ride of six or seven miles. The men were too miserable to talk and their bellies were too empty. At the crest of the hill, with the last mile of the trail before them, Kearny halted to give his final orders. As Gillespie records (*idem*), the general told them that their country expected them to do their duty, and that "one point of the sabre was worth any number of thrusts." He also ordered them to surround the village and capture the Californians alive; there was to be no unnecessary killing.

The column of twos began its slow march down the hill. The heavy 3-pound Ames sabers clanged like bells in their cumbersome iron scabbards, until it seemed to the men in the rear that the whole countryside must be aroused. It was maddening to have to work so slowly down the brushy slope.

Capt. Abraham R. Johnston, the genial, nearly 6-foot Ohioan, had pressed forward to take the lead. He was anxious to justify his West Point training and make his Indian-fighting father proud of his soldier son.⁸⁷ Pat Halpin, the bugler, couldn't sound the calls. His chilled lips refused to function on the mouth of the trumpet. As the head of the ragged column reached the valley floor, the order to trot was passed along.

Johnston apparently misunderstood it. The dragoons were still three-quarters of a mile from the Pico encampment when, unable to restrain his eagerness, he drew his saber and shouted, "Charge!" It was a tragic mistake. Fully three-quarters of the command were either on top of the hill or feeling their way down the dark slope.

In the Californian camp all was confusion. The sentry guarding the approaches from the hill heard the trampling of the horses in the distance. He fired a warning pistol shot while Kearny's men were yet high up on the hill, then he raced back to camp. In the early morning darkness, the Californians were hastily throwing their saddles upon the first horses they found.

The rancheros were cursing Pico for his carelessness, just as the cold and hungry dragoons were cursing Kearny for his foolhardiness in taking them into battle in the gray winter dawn. They fumbled with the small copper percussion caps, trying vainly to put them on the nipples of the breech-loading Hall carbines they carried.⁸⁸ Later they cursed even louder when they discovered that the weapons would not fire—the paper cartridges had not been drawn and they were soaked with rain.

Now the Californians were vaulting into the saddles and racing, lance in hand, to meet the oncoming gringos.

The order of the day as given by Pablo Véjar to his alférez (ensign), Dolores Higuera, commonly known by his nickname "El Huero" (Blondy), because of his light hair and complexion, was: "One shot, and the lance!"⁸⁹

There were few firearms among the Californians, and the excited owners of these began popping away as soon as they thought any Americans were within range. Captain Johnston paid for his temerity. He rode full tilt into the first volley and fell from his horse with a heavy musket ball from Leandro Osuna's flintlock full in his brain. Captain Moore, meanwhile, was racing ahead, unaware that he was alone with the enemy until he came face to face with Andrés Pico himself.⁹⁰ Moore fired one shot from his heavy, single-shot dragoon pistol and then made a pass at Pico with his saber. Both were ineffectual. Leandro Osuna and Dionisio Alipás lanced Moore at about the same time Pico returned Moore's thrust with a counter-thrust of his own sword. Moore fell to the ground and Tomás Sánchez, later to become sheriff

of Los Angeles County, finished off the wounded American with a pistol ball. In falling, Moore broke his sword within six inches of the hilt, and thus they found him later, still gripping his broken blade. For years afterwards, the Californians lauded the bravery of the "valiente Morin," who had charged their lines single-handed and attacked Pico himself.

Moore was thus the first man the Mexicans killed in a hand-to-hand fight. He died alone, but soon other dragoons were straggling across the flats to join the fight. It was still too dark to distinguish friend from foe. The field was alive with mounted men moving ghostlike through the half light. There were shouts in Spanish and answering cries in profane English. Here and there lone dragoons encountered two or three Californians, and after a futile attempt at firing their water-soaked carbines or pistols, the troopers either clubbed them or drew their heavy sabers.

Lieutenant Hammond, riding upon the heels of his brother-in-law, Captain Moore, ran into the same deadly lances and took a thrust between his eighth and ninth ribs. Thus, the two young men, who had been together through the long, grueling march and who had both left their sister-brides in far-off Missouri, fell at almost the same spot under a lone willow tree near the point of the rocky hill upon which Kearny and his men were to rest uneasily that night. Dr. Griffin met Hammond as the latter was moving slowly to the rear. The surgeon had his hands full at that moment, trying to dodge the Californians and attend to the wounded at the same time.⁹¹

All accounts, American and Californian, agree that it was virtually impossible to tell what was happening upon the field of battle. There were no regular lines, no trenches, no fixed positions of any kind. The battle swirled among the lowland bushes and willows, now eddying through the Indian huts, now flowing out along the plain.⁹²

The driver of one of the ill-fated howitzers found himself in the forefront of the skirmish with a balky mule. Down upon this unfortunate trooper swarmed Gabriel García and Francisco Higuera.

The cannoneer scrambled under the carriage of the gun in a vain attempt to ward off the flickering lances. He died there. García killed the obstinate mule with a shot in the head, then the two vaqueros threw their reatas over the gun and dragged it off, a useless trophy but one which pleased them mightily.

Gillespie, pressing forward, saw the gun being taken. He also saw that Moore and Hammond were down, the latter pierced likewise in the breast, and that the dragoons were being slaughtered. The Californians, after the first onslaught, wheeled their horses and raced southwest across the flat, turning behind the southern point of the long hill where the battle monument now stands. Here, on the other side of the hill, in the little valley through which the highway now runs, they re-formed; and as the straggling line of dragoons swept past the point, the Californians charged with leveled

lances and rode down the bewildered and exhausted men. Many of the Americans lost control of their half-broken, half-crazed mounts and fell easy victims to the stabbing lances. Carbines were clubbed, but clubs and Ames sabers were poor weapons to put up against lanzas wielded by men accustomed to feats of horsemanship and the dexterous manipulation of the long-shafted lances against bulls and the more ferocious grizzly bears. So the Americans died.

Among the Californians, Juan Lobo Mariano—a twenty-three year old vaquero from San Gabriel Mission, whose only experience in life had been the care of a few horses and cattle—said by some of the paisanos to have been a corporal on that bloody morning, raged among the Americans like the wolf (lobo) for whom he was named. He assumed leadership because of his actions; and thereafter, when the fight was mentioned, Juan Lobo Mariano's name stood out above all the others as the one who led the Californians even better than Pico.⁹³

Now it was growing steadily brighter, and as Gillespie rode forward, trying to rally the panic-stricken dragoons, who had been unnerved by the lightning charge of the Californians, he was spotted by many who had known him and hated him at Los Angeles. "*Aquí está Gillespie!*" they shouted. "*Adelante! Adelante! Matale! Matale! Aquí está Gillespie!*" (Here is Gillespie! Forward! Forward! Kill him! Kill him! Here is Gillespie!")

Four or five men charged upon the Marines' officer. They were all eager to flesh their lances in the body of this man whom they despised. He parried four thrusts but the fifth pierced his coat collar and hurled him to the ground. As he raised himself a lance slid into his back and pierced his lung. He turned to face his adversary and another thrust struck his mouth, ripped open his lip and broke one of his front teeth. Another lance took him in the left breast above his heart. At this moment Gillespie's horse started to run; and Higuera, who had been about to finish off the unfortunate officer, raced after the animal to seize it. Gillespie, staggering, with his sword still in his hand, took advantage of the incident and made his way toward the rear, with blood streaming from his wounds. He passed the stranded howitzer but could get no one to help recapture it from the enemy.

By this time the Sutter gun had come up and was in the battery. There were cries of "Where's the match?" "There isn't any!" "Where's the lin-stock?" "It's out!"

Lieut. W. H. Warner tried to fire it with a pistol but did not succeed. Gillespie pulled out his mechero (a cotton wick lighted by flint and steel, the grandfather of our present-day cigarette lighter and a commodity carried by everyone in California in those days). He lit the wick and fired the piece, then collapsed.⁹⁴ Gillespie always attributed the dispersment of the enemy that day to the discharge of grapeshot from this cannon.

Now the wounded began pouring to the rear where Dr. Griffin was busy,

aided by E. D. French, the hospital steward.⁹⁵ Hammond, dying from his numerous wounds, was stretched out near Gillespie's head and succumbed about an hour later.

General Kearny was wounded in two places, once through the arm and once in a spot which made sitting difficult.⁹⁶ According to Dunne,⁹⁷ who was in the fight, many of the dragoons voiced their approval of the wounding of the general.

The men were in low spirits and bitter over the poor leadership displayed in action. They blamed Kearny for taking them into a fight, poorly mounted, half-starved and frozen. They also felt that if he had waited until daylight, they could have seen whom they were fighting and have had at least a fifty-fifty chance.

As with all such actions, rumors concerning the battle were many and varied. Several assertions, made independently by the men, were to the effect that the officers had absorbed a good deal of wine found at Stokes' house on the night of the 5th and that the men were unable to get any of it. This story persisted for years after the battle. It is difficult at this late date, when all of the participants are dead, to ascertain the truth of such an accusation. Griffin notes that plenty of wine circulated among the officers at Santa Ysabel, and there may have been some full jugs or canteens carried away from that place. The men of that day were not noted for their sobriety, and at Santa Fe the officers of Kearny's command were often seen to be under the influence of liquor.⁹⁸

A correspondent of the *Daily Alta California*, describing his visit to the battlefield of San Pascual, in company with John Wolfskill of Rincón del Diablo, in the issue of that paper for November 13th, 1868, said:

. . . The day following, accompanied by Mr. Wolfskill, I rode over the hills two miles into the San Bernardo Valley, to visit the famous battle ground of San Pascual, where Kearny sustained such an ignominious defeat. It is located in the midst of an Indian and Sonorian settlement (an impoverished set of vagabonds). Two little huckster shops kept by white men more than suffice to do their trading.

Many versions have I heard through print and word of mouth, of that historic Kearny charge with his broken-down mules, against the well-conditioned horses of the Californians, and of the demoralized rout and severe loss of the chargers; but here, for the first time, I listened to a new one, and really the best excuse or explanation that can be given for that most shameful affair. Long without liquor, during their overland travel, they all got drunk the night before, at the Santa Maria rancho, seven miles distant, upon a couple of casks of wine found there, and in a maudlin condition, the next morning, with their firearms neglected and unfit for use, by reason of the rain and fog upon the mountains, they came pellmell down into and across the valley, scattered in all directions, and thus the isolated men and officers fell easy victims to the enemy.

(From a letter to the *Alta* by "C. E. P." [Charles E. Pickett], Tia Juana Rancho, Lower Cal., Oct. 23, 1868.)

Gillespie, who was living in San Francisco at that time, responded to this accusation with a heated denial, which was published in the *Alta California* on November 14th:

. . . The ungracious term of "ignominious defeat of General Kearny" is as untrue as it is gratuitous. Out of forty-five men engaged, there were nineteen killed—two Captains, one First Lieutenant, sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates, and the twentieth died the next day. There were eighteen wounded—amongst them General Kearny . . . —against seventy-eight Californians, whom the Americans drove from the field, with the loss of thirty killed and wounded.

"C. E. P.'s" informant is a positive falsifier in relation to the condition of the command on the morning of the battle, and whoever knew the exact position of the troops the night before the fight would instantly pronounce the statement, that "the men were under the influence of liquor," to be a miserable falsehood. It is a foul slander upon the brave officers and soldiers of the old First Dragoons who fell that day, and upon the survivors of the fight, as a short narration will show.

General Kearny was met on the heights of Santa Isabel, on the forenoon of December 5th, 1846, by myself, at the head of forty men, with a small field piece. Having communicated my orders to the General, he gave me permission to halt in a little dell in the hills, where the grass was plenty, to feed my horses and mules, as at Santa Maria, where I had bivouacked the night previous, there was neither forage nor grass. There was a small old vacated adobe house and a good barn or shed for protecting the wheat straw from the rains, but entirely empty. There was nothing about the place of use, not a vestige of anything to eat or drink, save water, the rancho having been deserted from the commencement of the war. General Kearny left me with the intention of halting at Santa Maria, but finding the facts as I had stated, he marched to a cañada, a mile further on, for grass; and, also, preferring his tent, rather than occupy the miserable hovel of Santa Maria.

It is not very likely that "two casks of wine" were to be found stowed away in the hills unknown to the Indians, and remain there any time; and it is not possible, that, with such an abundance elsewhere, the Californians would have taken to such a remote deserted place an article for which transportation was very difficult.

These are the facts, and having done only my duty in refuting the statement of "C. E. P.," wherein he has been grossly misinformed, I pronounce the whole story in relation to San Pascual to be untrue.

Archi H. Gillespie
Major First Cal. Battalion, 1846

San Francisco, November 13th, 1868.

No doubt Gillespie was correct in his statements concerning conditions at the Stokes' adobe at Santa Maria, but he had not been with the troops the previous day when Sailor "Beel" had broken out the wine for the officers and men of the 1st Dragoons at Santa Ysabel. Hence he could not have known the facts if some of the officers and men of Kearny's command had carried away a few full jugs and canteens of wine, to cheer them on their cold journey to San Diego.

Certainly something was wrong with the management of the entire affair. Dunne in his notes said that on the night at Santa Maria the officers got wine, but the men did not; and Dr. E. D. French observed that they had camped near the residence of Mr. Stokes, whither many of the officers retired to drink wine and have a good time generally.⁹⁹

Dr. Griffin, commenting on the battle, said:¹⁰⁰

This was an action where decidedly more courage than conduct was showed. The

first charge was a mistake on the part of Capt. Johnston, the 2d on the part of Capt. Moor. After the Genl was wounded and the men were rallied he was anxious for another charge but was persuaded not to risk it. We drove the enemy from the field and encamped. All that day was engaged in dressing the wounded.

In 1847 Lieut. John McHenry Hollingsworth¹⁰¹ of Stevenson's Regiment, then stationed at Los Angeles where he met the survivors of the fight, said, basing his statements upon conversations with Dr. Griffin and Lieut. J. W. Davidson:

There was a great mistake made somewhere but who made it is the difficulty to determine as the officers who were in it generally do not like to talk about it. The Californians claim a victory but as our troops kept the field and the Californians retreated the victory was ours although dearly bought.

John Mix Stanley,^{101a} artist on the expedition, wrote:

From a misapprehension of an order, the charge was not made by our whole force, or with as much precision as was desirable, but the Californians retreated on firing a single volley, to an open plain about half a mile distant. Captain Johnston and one private were killed in this charge. The retreat of the enemy was followed with spirit by our troops skirmishing the distance of half a mile. When they reached the plains, our force was somewhat scattered by the pursuit. The Californians, taking advantage of this disorganization, fought with desperation, making great havoc with their lances. It was a real hand to hand fight . . . with what loss we could not learn.

Eye-witness accounts among the Californians vary. Each man, according to his own story, was a hero. There was Pablo Véjar. After the first melee with the Americans, Véjar shouted to a couple of his *compañeros* that he was going to draw to the side for a breathing spell. Four Americans, hearing him shout in Spanish, converged upon him, and Véjar, lance in hand, spurred up an arroyo with the intention of gaining a more favorable position from which he might charge upon the Americans. He was so intent upon this plan that he failed to see a badger hole, into which his horse plunged a foot and fell heavily upon its neck. Véjar's spur caught in the cinch, and thus pinned down he was unable to rise. The four pursuers fired at him with their rifles, the balls striking directly in front of his head and kicking sand into his mouth. Véjar played dead and the Americans, thinking no doubt that they had killed him, rode on. Véjar then struggled to free himself, and his horse, apparently unhurt by the fall, tried to rise. This movement attracted the attention of four other Americans and they too fired at the luckless Véjar. Again he tasted the sand from the river bed.

His horse got to its feet. At this moment two other gringos rode up and one of them fired at Véjar, who had managed to get up and stood lance in hand awaiting them. The ball passed so close to his lips that it caused him pain but drew no blood. His two enemies came up from the left and right sides. The one on his left shouted, "Damn you!" Véjar whirled to face him and looked into the muzzle of a loaded rifle. In a mixture of broken Spanish and English, he was informed that he was a prisoner. Véjar recognized one of the men, who was mounted upon a white horse bearing the brand of

Juan Machado, and indicated that he would surrender his lance to him, mentally planning to jerk the horseman out of the saddle the moment he leaned over to take the weapon. Then he planned to vault into the vacated seat and escape. This plan was frustrated by the second captor, who kept Véjar covered with his gun. The latter was all for shooting Véjar at once, but the one on the white horse refused, saying that Véjar had surrendered and was a prisoner, and, according to Gillespie, "prisoners were to be respected." So Véjar delivered up his lance, the point of which was still bloody from his previous victims, and mounted his own horse, not without some misgivings, because he feared that the Americans, seeing the blood of their comrades upon the lance blade, would sheathe the weapon in Véjar's own body.

Véjar's captor, who had protected him from being murdered in cold blood by the second man—a Canadian voyageur by the name of Patitoux¹⁰²—was "Phillip Crossbett," in other words Philip Crosthwaite, one of the volunteers, who afterwards married María López, a second cousin of Véjar's. As the three rode off across the field they met another American, "Beale or Veal, or some such name," according to Véjar, whom he had known in San Diego. This man was married to a daughter of the Machado family and he proposed that Véjar be turned over to Patitoux and conducted to the rear, while Crosthwaite and Beale rode on after the Californians. Véjar protested this arrangement, feeling certain that the Canadian half-breed would kill him as soon as the other two were out of sight.

Beale said: "The Americans are not chuchos [dogs]. They won't kill you." Then Patitoux said: "Let's go!" So Véjar, unable to do anything else, rode to the rear and arrived unharmed among the Americans.

Gillespie, after the battle, questioned Véjar, saying: "And Señor Véjar, how many were killed on your side?" "Being a prisoner," answered Véjar, "I do not know." Then Dr. Griffin asked him why he didn't tell the truth—that there were 10 killed and 30 wounded?

Véjar, knowing that there were only between 70 and 75 Californians with Pico, with about 30 firearms among them, was actually unacquainted with the casualty list of his countrymen at the time, but said that he believed there were many more casualties than Griffin had affirmed. Later he learned that in reality they only had one man killed, Francisco Lara, and some twelve men wounded, one of whom, Casimiro Rubio, died at San Juan Capistrano. Others wounded were Juan Alvarado, Romualdo Young (Véjar was uncertain about this name), José Aguilar, Joaquín Valenzuela, Santiago Lobo, José Duarte, Antonio Ibarra, and still others he did not remember.

Practically all of the Californians agreed that only one man on their side was slain in the action, and they all name that man as Francisco Dorio Lara. The latter was a youth who seems to have been terror stricken in this, his first and last battle, Antonio María Osio¹⁰³ stating that the boy was left in

camp in this condition when the Californians moved into the fight. Don José Antonio (Tonito) Serrano,¹⁰⁴ an unwilling participant in the battle—who, it seems, was without weapons other than his reata—was making his way toward the Indian village (which, as said above, was situated along the base of the hill on the west side of San Pascual Valley, just back from the river bottom) immediately after Pico's men had made their second charge from the ambush around the point of the rocky hill. All was confusion. The Americans were retreating with the Californians hard on their heels, stabbing at them with flickering lances. Shortly before Serrano arrived at the site where the old Indian church stood beside its tiny campo santo, he saw three Americans lead young Lara away from one of the Indian huts where the terrified boy had been hiding. He saw Lara deliver up his arms. Thereupon two of the Americans rode away, leaving Lara in charge of the third, who shot the youth and then rode off. It was afterwards said, and seemed to be common knowledge at the time, that Lara was slain by some Indians whom Kearny had brought with him.

Serrano had been at the ranchería of Panto,¹⁰⁵ noted leader of the San Pascual Indians, when the fight started. He was about 100 yards from the house when the Californians loosed their "sheet of fire" and the Americans rode into it, "shouting like so many coyotes."¹⁰⁶

Serrano was one of four or five Californians who had kept their horses picketed near camp, ready for any contingency. He rode from Panto's place to the house owned by Moses Mannasse,¹⁰⁷ keeping well up along the side of the hill and out of range of the actual combat until he was opposite the Mannasse house. Here it was free of fog and he could see quite plainly. Shortly afterwards the howitzer which García and Higuera seized was taken near this house. From the Mannasse place, Serrano proceeded to that of Lorenzo Soto on the nearby hill, where Pico had his quarters. (It is said that Soto himself took no part in the fight.) Serrano said he found Pico, Tomás Sánchez, and Leonardo Cota¹⁰⁸ at the Soto house. Soon after this the Californians withdrew from the field and rode south, camping among some oaks about three miles from the Americans, who moved into a patch of timber back of the Mannasse house and pitched a temporary camp with the field hospital at the point of the long hill. Later they moved up on the hill among the cactus and rocks. Said Emory (*ibid.*, p. 109): "Our position was defensible, but the ground, covered with rocks and cacti, made it difficult to get a smooth place to rest, even for the wounded. The night was cold and damp, and notwithstanding our excessive fatigues of the day and night previous, sleep was impossible." The artillery was placed on the ridge, so as to command the field.

It was a dejected and battered detachment of United States forces that camped on the battlefield that night. Although the enemy had technically been driven off, the Americans did not know at what moment the lanceros

might decide to return. The wounded had to be gathered and the dead had to be buried. It was decided to wait until nightfall to accomplish the latter task, since, according to Emory (*loc. cit.*), the Americans feared that the dead, ". . . no matter where buried, would be dug up to rob the bodies of their clothes, and orders were given to pack them on mules, with the intention of carrying them to San Diego, but it was found that there were not a sufficient number of strong animals left to convey both the dead and the wounded, and directions were given therefore to inter them at night as secretly as possible."

Emory scoured the Indian village for the dead and wounded. The first body he found was that of Captain Johnston with a bullet wound between the eyes. There were ugly rumors after the fight that Johnston had not died from enemy wounds but at the hands of an American dragoon who had incurred the displeasure of the captain. These, however, were merely rumors, and there seems to be no foundation for them other than Crosthwaite's statement made about six years later. It is certain, however, that Johnston's body had been plundered. His watch, which he wore about his neck, was missing and only a fragment of the chain remained. This theft, too, was attributed to the disgruntled dragoon, although Emory himself does not say so. According to Emory (*ibid.*, p. 108):

The work of plundering the dead had already commenced; his [Johnston's] watch was gone, nothing being left of it but a fragment of the gold chain by which it was suspended from his neck. By my directions Sergeant Falls and four men took charge of the body and carried it into camp. Captain Johnston and one dragoon were the only persons either killed or wounded on our side in the fight by firearms.

General Kearny, although wounded, was at first inclined to order his men to advance on the same day, but was dissuaded by his officers because of the dead and wounded.

Stanley (*loc. cit.*) alludes to the situation thus:

At first General Kearny thought to move on the same day. The dead were lashed on mules, and remained two hours or more in that posture. It was a sad and melancholy picture. We soon found, however, that our wounded were unable to travel. The mules were released of their packs, and the men engaged in fortifying the place for the night. During the day the enemy were in sight curveting their horses, keeping our camp in constant excitement. Three of Captain Gillespie's volunteers started with dispatches to Commodore Stockton. The dead were buried at night and ambulances made for the wounded. . . .

The ambulances for the wounded mentioned by Stanley were constructed of willow poles (cut from the bed of the river) and fastened travois-style to the mules, the wounded being placed on buffalo robes lashed between the poles.¹⁰⁹ Friendly Indians at San Pascual are said to have aided in cutting the poles and making litters;¹¹⁰ but to soldiers whose wounds were beginning to stiffen, the poles, jouncing along over the rough terrain, must have caused untold agony.

There were wheeled carretas at San Diego, some forty miles away, and it was determined to send messengers to Old Town to ask that some of these be sent, as well as food and reinforcements. This was the second time Kearny had had to ask Stockton for aid, and it must have galled his soul to do so; but there was no other recourse left for him, unless he wished to lose his entire force.

The three messengers despatched by Capt. H. S. Turner, Kearny's aide-de-camp, and acting commander of the dragoons during his incapacitation, were Alexis Godey, Thomas Burgess, and one other. The message from Turner to Stockton (reprinted in Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 583) was as follows:

Headquarters, Camp near San Pascual,
December 6, 1846.

Sir: I have the honor to report to you that at early dawn this morning General Kearny, with a detachment of United States dragoons and Captain Gillespie's company of mounted riflemen, had an engagement with a very considerable Mexican force near this camp.

We have about eighteen killed and fourteen or fifteen wounded; several so severely that it may be impracticable to move them for several days. I have to suggest to you the propriety of despatching, without delay, a considerable force to meet us on the route to San Diego, via the Soledad and San Bernardo, or to find us at this place; also, that you will send up carts or some other means of transporting our wounded to San Diego. We are without provisions, and in our present situation find it impracticable to obtain cattle from the ranches in the vicinity.

General Kearny is among the wounded, but it is hoped not dangerously; Captains Monroe [Moore] and Johns[t]on, First Dragoons, killed; Lieutenant Hammond, First Dragoons, dangerously wounded.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. S. Turner,
Captain U. S. A., comdg.

Late on the night of December 6th, the dead were buried in a single grave under a willow tree,¹¹¹ said to have been growing on the slope of the hill a trifle east of the rocky point—possibly the same tree where Moore was killed and Hammond received his death wound. It was a melancholy occasion. Said Emory (*ibid.*, p. 109):

When night closed in, the bodies of the dead were buried under a willow to the east of our camp, with no other accompaniment than the howling of the myriads of wolves attracted by the smell. Thus were put to rest together, and forever, a band of brave and heroic men. The long march of 2,000 miles had brought our little command, both officers and men, to know each other well. Community of hardships, dangers, and privations, had produced relations of mutual regard which caused their loss to sink deeply in our memories.

Dunne relates in his "Notes" that after the fight, a pit was dug in which all the bodies, mixed together as they were, were placed.

To refer again to Emory (*ibid.*, pp. 109-10), whose description of the events of December 7th is the best of all:

Day dawned on the most tattered and ill-fed detachment of men that ever the United

States mustered under her colors. The enemy's pickets and a portion of his force were seen in front. The sick, by the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Griffin, were doing well, and the general enabled to mount his horse. The order to march was given, and we moved off to offer the enemy battle, accompanied by our wounded, and the whole of our packs. The ambulances grated on the ground, and the sufferings of the wounded were very distressing. We had made for them the most comfortable conveyance we could, and such as it was, we were indebted principally to the ingenuity of the three remaining mountain men of the party, Peterson, Londeau and Perrot. The fourth, the brave François Ménard, had lost his life in the fight of the day before. The general resumed the command, placing Captain Turner, of the dragoons, in command of the remnant of dragoons, which were consolidated into the company.

Arranging our wounded and the packs in the centre, we marched towards San Diego in the direction of the San Barnardo rancheria, taking the right hand road over the hills, and leaving the river San Barnardo to the left. The enemy retired as we advanced. When we arrived at the rancheria of San Barnardo, we watered our horses and killed chickens for the sick. The rancheria was the property of Mr. Snooks, an Englishman; it was deserted except for a few Indians.

Crosthwaite stated (and he was correct) that it was about five miles from the battle ground of December 6th to Snook's rancho. Kearny saw that the Californians were massing in front of him at a point where the valley narrowed, about a mile and a quarter from his camp; but instead of marching straight down the valley, which would have been the easier course, he swerved sharply to the right toward what is now Escondido, and rode along the hills.

This sudden maneuver caused the Californians to swing wide around his front into a new position. Kearny then swerved to the left and headed toward the Rancho San Bernardo, which lies in the valley west of the San Dieguito River, just west of a low range of hills. Here the dragoons halted at the ranch house standing in a clump of sycamores. The old adobe has long since vanished, leaving scarcely a trace, even of the foundation walls. The present ranch house is built a few feet west of the site of the old dwelling.¹¹² Here, as Emory states, the command caught a number of chickens and took them along for the wounded. They also rounded up a number of cattle to use for food. Now the enemy appeared in force to the southeast, having again circled behind Kearny and swept down from the north, in order to cross the road to San Diego in front of him. They also appeared from the southwest, attempting an enveloping movement; and thirty or forty were occupying a low, boulder-studded hill, about half a mile east of Snook's rancho.

This was not a prepossessing looking place. It was merely a small peak, crowned with granite boulders and covered with low brush. The ground between the ranch house and the hill was fairly open and level. From this vantage point commanding the road, the Californios opened a ragged fire on the advancing Americans. There were no casualties, and Kearny sent a small party of six or eight men under Emory to drive the lancers from their position. No men were killed in this brief passage at arms, although several

of the Americans were wounded before the Californians broke and fled, leaving the hill in possession of the troopers.

In the flurry of excitement attending the race for the hill, the cattle escaped, and the men lost all of their chickens. This left them without any immediate source of supply for their rations. Realizing that he could not move forward encumbered with his wounded and his baggage train, Kearny decided to camp for the night upon this hill, dress the wounds of his men, and, if necessary, cut his way through to San Diego on the succeeding day.

The plight of the Army of the West now appeared almost hopeless, unless the relief party from San Diego arrived soon. There was no food nor water, the river being dry,¹¹³ and the enemy were encamped at the ranch house. The flour had long since given out. Here and there a few ounces were treasured by men who had hoarded it against such an emergency. The mules of the command were the only sources of food left to the starving men. They killed the fattest of these, but, as Dunne said, they were "fat in bone, low in flesh."

The morning of the 8th found the men on the hill, either crouched among the rocks of their barricade or lying exposed just outside. In order to add to the strength of his position, Kearny had his men pile smaller boulders into the openings between the large ones, thus creating, in effect, a long narrow room, the center of which was sprinkled with rounded rocks of all sizes. It was at best a cramped uncomfortable refuge and one entirely inadequate for Kearny's small force. Today, a hundred years later, the breastworks remain as an original monument to Kearny's men.¹¹⁴

The topic of conversation, one may be certain, was food, and the relief party. Why didn't that so-and-so sailor in San Diego send out food, carts, and reinforcements? Why, indeed?

They soon learned the answer, or at least had a partial explanation why relief had not arrived. A white flag appeared from the enemy's camp with a request from Pico to exchange prisoners. General Pico, it appeared, had four Americans whom he wished to exchange for four Californians. It was very embarrassing, because the Americans had but one man, Pablo Véjar, as a prisoner.

Lieutenant Emory rode forth to parley with Pico, whom he found to be "a gentlemanly looking, and rather handsome man."¹¹⁵

Véjar, in relating his experiences with the Americans as a prisoner, complained that they did not feed him from the day they took him captive on Sunday till the following Tuesday, when they offered him a piece of badly cooked mule meat. He had just begun to eat it when the flag of truce was brought into camp. Véjar asked Jean Nutrelle, a Frenchman, who acted as his guard, the meaning of the flag. Nutrelle explained and Véjar asked how many prisoners the Californios had taken. Nutrelle said four. This news caused Véjar to take heart, and when he was informed that he was to be

exchanged for Burgess, Véjar immediately spat out the meat, saying: "Well, now I don't have to eat mule."

As they approached the Californian outposts, Véjar was on foot and Burgess was astride a horse. One of the Californians said: "Why should this one [indicating Burgess] ride on horseback while our comandante walks on foot? Dismount!" Thus Véjar returned to his friends, á caballo, while Burgess trudged across the flats on foot. Needless to say, the captive Californian was received by his amigos with much rejoicing, and the first thing for which he asked was a piece of juicy roasted beef!

From Burgess and Godey it was learned that the despatch-bearers, sent to San Diego on December 6th, had arrived safely and had started back with Stockton's reply when they were jumped by the Californians. The two Americans hid their despatches under a tree, but when this cache was examined later the letters were missing. Apparently Stockton had no spare horses upon which to mount his men and could not send a relief party. This was disheartening news and Kearny resolved to send another detail to San Diego, to impress upon Stockton the seriousness of his plight.

According to Commodore Stockton,¹¹⁶ as soon as Godey and his companions arrived in San Diego, ". . . preparations were immediately made to dispatch a detachment for this purpose [i.e., relieving Kearny]." Stockton at first determined to go out in person. He did not know the exact size of the enemy's force and since Captain Turner, Kearny's new aide-de-camp, had failed to give information on this subject, and Godey could not, Stockton was undecided as to the number of men he should send. Two days' provisions were assembled and two field pieces made ready to accompany the relief party. Acting-lieutenant Guest was ordered to proceed to Mission San Diego and await Stockton at that place.¹¹⁷

In the starving camp on Mule Hill (so-named by the inhabitants because of their diet of mule meat) Lieut. E. F. Beale and Kit Carson volunteered to go to San Diego. At first Kearny said he could not spare Carson but Beale urged the necessity, saying the famous scout would be necessary for carrying out the plan. So, on the night of December 8th, Beale, Carson and an Indian crept through the three lines of sentries thrown about the hill by the Californians and started towards San Diego. The accounts vary as to the identity of the Indian accompanying the two Americans. Emory merely states (*ibid.*, p. 111): "At night, Lieutenant Beale, of the navy, Mr. Carson, and an Indian, volunteered to go to San Diego, 29 miles distant—an expedition of some peril, as the enemy now occupied all the passes to that town." Davis¹¹⁸ stated that it was an Indian servant of Beale's who would not leave him, while Dunne says that an Indian from San Pascual guided Lieutenant Beale and Carson that night from the hill to San Diego—a reasonable statement, as a local Indian, originally from Mission San Diego, could be relied upon to know the main trails and side paths leading to Old Town.

Carson's¹¹⁹ version of the episode was:

As soon as dark we started on our mission. In crawling over the rocks and brush our shoes making noise, we took them off; fastened them under our belts. We had to crawl about two miles. We could see three rows of sentinels, all ahorseback, we would often have to pass within 20 yards of one. We got through, but had the misfortune to have lost our shoes, had to travel over a country, covered with prickly pear and rocks, barefoot.

Got to San Diego the next night. Stockton immediately ordered 160 or 170 men to march to Kearny's relief. They were under the command of a Lieutenant, [and had] one cannon, which was drawn by the men by attaching to it ropes.

I remained at San Diego, Lieutenant Beale was sent aboard of frigate Congress; had become deranged from fatigue of the service performed, did not entirely recover for two years.

Carson also related that in March of 1847 (more correctly, February 25, 1847) he started for Washington with despatches for the War Department, Lieutenant Beale accompanying him with reports for the Navy Department. As Carson says:

Beale, during the first 20 days, I had to lift on and off his horse. I did not think he could live, but I took as good care and paid to him as much attention as could [be] given . . . and he had, before our arrival, got so far recovered that he could assist himself. For my care I was trebly paid by the kindness and attention given me by his mother while I was in Washington.

To return to the council of war on the hill: When Beale volunteered to run the gauntlet into San Diego, Kearny asked him if he had any provisions. Beale answered, "None." "Orderly," inquired Kearny, "What have we left?" "Nothing but a handful of flour, sir." "Bake it all into a single loaf and give it to Lieutenant Beale with my compliments." This was done and the orderly carried it to Beale, saying, "This is the last of it, sir, not only of the bread but of everything else." Beale refused it, telling the man to take it back to Kearny. In his pocket Beale had some parched corn and beans with a small piece of cooked mule meat. That was all.¹²⁰

For Carson and the Indian, the nerve-racking trek to San Diego was more or less a matter of routine; to the young naval officer it was pure torture, and upon his arrival at Old Town, being unable to stand because of his lacerated feet, he had to be carried into Commodore Stockton's headquarters. The Indian reached San Diego ahead of Carson and Beale, the three having separated a few miles from their destination, to insure that at least one might get through.¹²¹

A baile was in full swing at Juan Bandini's house where Stockton's band was playing its sprightliest airs. The Californians loved music and so did Stockton, and every evening it was the custom to have the musicians from the Congress play in the plaza. Almost every night there was a dance in the Bandini house. This night it was interrupted by the announcement that Kearny's tattered force was besieged on a hill near San Bernardo and dying of wounds and starvation.¹²²

Stockton hastened preparations for the immediate departure of the relief party. According to the commodore's account there were 215 men in all, under the command of Lieut. Andrew F. V. Gray of the *Congress* and composed of detachments of sailors and marines, the latter under Lieut. H. B. Watson. The musketeers from the *Savannah* were commanded by Lieut. William B. Renshaw, assisted by midshipmen George E. Morgan and Robert C. Duvall; those from the *Congress* by Lieut. John Guest, assisted by midshipmen B. F. Wells, Theodore Lee, and Joseph Parrish; and those from the *Portsmouth* were under Lieut. Benjamin F. Hunter, whose subordinates were Boatswain Robert Whittaker and Purser James H. Watmough. The artillery was in charge of Lieut. R. L. Tilghman and Passed Midsh. William H. Thompson. Capt. J. Zeilin of the *Congress* acted as adjutant of the forces. Each officer and man carried a blanket, 3 pounds of hard tack and 3 of jerked beef.¹²³

In the meantime the beleaguered force on Mule Hill was having a rugged time. Sgt. John Cox of C Company died of his wounds on the morning of December 10th and was buried on Mule Hill.¹²⁴ His grave was covered with heavy stones to keep the coyotes from digging up his body. Said Emory,¹²⁵ "This was a gallant fellow, who had, just before leaving Fort Leavenworth, married a pretty wife."

Don Antoine Robideaux, a thin man of about fifty-two years, suffered greatly from his wounds and according to Emory, who slept on the ground next to him, grave doubts were entertained concerning the Frenchman's ability to pull through. The morning of the 9th Robideaux awoke and asked Emory if he did not smell coffee. Emory thought the man was out of his head, but upon investigation he discovered that the cook was heating a cup of coffee over a small fire of wild sage. As Emory¹²⁶ describes it:

One of the most agreeable little offices performed in my life, and I believe in the cook's, to whom the coffee belonged, was, to pour this precious draught into the waning body of our friend Robideaux. His warmth returned, and with it hopes of life. In gratitude he gave me, what was then a great rarity, the half of a cake made of brown flour, almost black with dirt, and which had, for greater security, been hidden in the clothes of his Mexican servant, a man who scorned ablutions. I eat [ate] more than half without inspection, when, on breaking a piece, the bodies of several of the most loathsome insects were exposed to my view. My hunger, however, overcame my fastidiousness, and the morceau did not appear particularly disgusting till after our arrival at San Diego, when several hearty meals had taken off the keenness of my appetite, and suffered my taste to be more delicate.

Indirectly, the Californians added to the larder of the Americans. On the morning of the 10th, Cristóbal López and about half a dozen compadres decided to have a little sport.¹²⁷ They organized a manada (a drove) of mules at Snook's corral, fastened a dry bullhide to the tail of the leader, and with much whooping and laughter set the small band of animals in motion toward the American encampment. They hoped to stampede the

dragoons' mounts, which were picketed on the little grass at the foot of the hill with a guard of about twenty men. The dragoons saw the mules racing toward them; and the Sutter gun, which had been mounted upon the hill, jumped and roared, flattening the low brush with its muzzle blast. The four-pound ball kicked up dust just in front of the stampeding animals and turned them aside. One mule, much to the amazement of the Californios as well as the Americans, continued its headlong flight straight up the hill, where it was pierced with many musket balls. The animal was said to have been fat and supplied the camp with dainty morsels.

At night the Americans were ringed with the watch fires of the Californios, who, with their ready lances, circled the beleaguered dragoons, hovering just out of gunshot and indicating by their attitude that they were confident of victory. Unless a miracle occurred, the gringos must soon capitulate or starve.

General Kearny also believed that his situation was critical. He hoped his scouts would reach San Diego and bring relief, but the uncertainty was great. Accordingly on the morning of December 9th he had issued the following order:¹²⁸

Headquarters, Army of the West
Camp at San Bernardo, Cal. Dec. 9th, 1846.

Orders,

All public property now in the camp which we have not the means of transporting to San Diego, will at once be destroyed, this of course becomes necessary in order to prevent such property from falling into the hands of the enemy by whom we are now surrounded.

By order of Brigadier-General S. W. Kearny

(Signed) H. A. Turner

Capt. A.A.A. Genl.

On the night of this same day, as we have seen, the relief party, composed of sailors and marines, set out from San Diego. They marched until nearly daybreak of the 10th, when they went into camp on a high hill entirely destitute of trees and affording poor concealment from any wandering horseman. Here they remained all the following day, distressed by the lack of water. At nightfall they resumed their march. It was bitterly cold, and, unaccustomed to land duty, the men suffered severely.

About 2 a. m. they sighted the fires of the California outposts, which were covered as soon as the sentries heard the force approaching. Shortly afterward the relief party saw Kearny's campfires blazing on the hill. The Americans were lying on their arms. They were hungry and tired but they could not sleep. At daybreak they would make one final desperate attempt to cut their way through the enemy lines. Suddenly a weary sentinel heard the sound of many men, marching. "Who goes there?" he challenged. "Americans," came the welcome response from the darkness.

Then, moving in a square formation, the relief party emerged from the

shadows and marched up the hill. The siege was over. Rescuers mingled with rescued. The sailors and marines were treated to bowls of hot mule soup, while they in turn distributed hard tack and jerked beef from their rations.

That night, as Philip Crosthwaite sat by the fire enjoying a piece of pork handed to him by a sailor, a lone musket banged somewhere in the outer darkness and a ball whistled through the American camp, injuring no one.¹²⁹ It was the final, defiant gesture of a disappointed enemy. The next day the Californians faded into the landscape.

The action of San Pascual and San Bernardo was over. Kearny and his tattered dragoons, hauling with them their lone, battered howitzer, limped into San Diego with their liberators. Yet, incongruous as it may seem, to Kearny this sorry ending to a great march was a glorious triumph. A tactical victory had been gained and, seemingly, that was all that mattered. In his official account to Brigadier General R. Jones, Adjutant General, U. S. A., in Washington, he wrote: "... The great number of our killed and wounded proves that our officers and men have fully sustained the high character and reputation of our troops; and the victory thus gained over more than double our force, may assist in forming the wreath of our national glory."

Judge Benjamin Hayes, who studied the action and listened to the accounts of many participants, apparently did not share Kearny's attitude.¹³⁰ "I am satisfied," said Hayes, "that it will require considerable attention and labor, to ascertain all the truth of this lamentable affair."

In retrospect a century later, one cannot help but wonder whether the wounded and the dead, if they could have spoken, would have considered the battle worth while. Certainly, with all of the knowledge of warfare that he must have had, Kearny could not have been so blind as not to foresee the results of such a poorly conceived action. One wonders why he did not take the open or at best poorly guarded road into San Diego via El Cajon, or why he did not wait until daylight when he could see the terrain and the forces arrayed against him. There can be no answer to these questions. The battle was fought and the action has taken its place in the history of the winning of California.

Salud, soldados! Viva California!

NOTES

36. The letters of the Warner-Kewen political feud were published in the *Southern Vineyard*, edited by J. J. Warner, on Aug. 2, 9, and 19; and on Sept. 2 and 6, 1859. The *Los Angeles Star* of Sept. 3, 1859, printed Gillespie's letter, giving his version of Warner's arrest in 1846.

37. See *Los Angeles Star* of Aug. 20, 1859, for Sexton's statement. In after years Sexton was an inventor living at San Gabriel.

38. Wilson's letter appeared in the *Southern Vineyard* of Aug. 9, 1859. For a resumé of Wilson's life, see Benjamin David Wilson, *Observations on Early Days in California*

and *New Mexico*, with foreword by Arthur Woodward, *An. Publ.*, Hist. Soc. Southern Calif. (Los Angeles, 1934), pp. 74-150.

39. Alex. Bell's letter was printed in the *Southern Vineyard*, Aug. 9, 1859.

40. Abel Stearns' letter, *idem*, Sept. 2, 1859.

41. John Reed's letter, *idem*, Aug. 19, 1859.

42. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

43. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-07.

44. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

45. Emory, *loc. cit.*

46. 30th Cong., 2d sess., S. Exec. Doc. 31 (1849), pp. 26-27.

47. This account was written by Gillespie in a report to Commodore Stockton in San Diego, Dec. 25, 1846. The original was among some Gillespie documents which I consulted when they were the property of Mr. Jake Zeitlin of Los Angeles in 1937. The collection is now in the possession of Mrs. Wayne Morrison of Monrovia.

48. See also Gillespie's letter, dated from Los Angeles, Feb. 16, 1847, to Hon. George Bancroft, in "Gillespie and the Conquest of California," introduction by G. W. Ames, Jr., this *QUARTERLY*, XVII (Dec. 1938), 340-41.

49. The Santa Maria Rancho was the property of Eduardo Stokes and José Joaquín Ortega in conjunction with the Rancho Santa Ysabel. For further information concerning this valley, see Arthur Woodward, "Out of the Past," in *Ramona Sentinel*, issues of Oct. 3, 1935, through March 5, 1936.

50. "Recuerdos de un Viejo," dictated by Pablo Véjar to Tomás Savage, Dec. 14, 1877 (manuscript in Bancroft Library). Savage took the dictation when Véjar was seventy-five and was living with his wife on his brother's rancho, about four miles from Spadra in Los Angeles County. Savage described Véjar as being about 5 ft. 10 in., straight and lean, with a fresh clear memory. He was poor and had a large family, and according to Savage was inclined to take credit for deeds that belonged to others.

51. The San Pascual road was traveled by most of the parties leaving San Diego for the southern overland route during the 1850's and 1860's. In the 1870's another road was constructed through the back country to Julian, and the old steep San Pascual hill trail was abandoned.

52. Eduardo Stokes' son, Adolphus, and later his grandson, Aristides (Reestis) Stokes, occupied the old adobe in the Valle de los Amigos (colloquially contracted to Goose Valley) the first two decades of the 19th century; then Aristides sold out and moved to San Luis Rey Valley.

53. Santa Maria Creek is dry for the greater part of the year. It has a certain amount of water in the canyon to the north of the Stokes' adobe, but the stream sinks into the sand before emerging into the Santa Maria Valley. When Kearny marched through the region, the river was probably dry.

54. These houses were occupied by Indians who had settled there from Mission San Diego in 1835. Mrs. Elizabeth Judson Roberts in her little book, *Indian Stories of the South West* (San Francisco, 1917), pp. 220-24, 229, describes the village at the time of the battle, the battle itself and the aftermath, through the eyes of old Felicita, who claimed to be the daughter of "Poncho," leader of the ranchería—probably Panto, head man at San Pascual. Practically every point in her story can be corroborated through other sources; and it is interesting since it is the only extant Indian version of the battle and the subsequent removal of the American dead from San Pascual to San Diego.

The last of the Indian adobe huts was ploughed under some fifteen or twenty years ago. The crumbling walls, which stood in the open on a small knoll south of the point of the hill whereon the battle monument stands, were a community legend and for years they were known, erroneously of course, as "Frémont's Fort." Why Frémont.

it is difficult to say, except that community legends frequently distort the truth about the occurrences in a neighborhood.

55. Copy of letter in Judge Benjamin I. Hayes' *Scrapbooks* (in Bancroft Library), consisting of "California Notes," "Emigrant Notes," "Indians," etc.

56. Hayes, *ibid.*

57. Hayes, *ibid.* The site of the chapel at present is so covered with grass that it is virtually lost to view, and unless one looks closely the low mounds will pass unnoticed. The compound of the asistencia can be traced in the open pasture immediately east of the neat white chapel that was erected here a few years ago. The bells, which once hung on a beam outside the old chapel, disappeared during an internecine fight among the Indian factions of Santa Ysabel and Mesa Grande a number of years ago, and their hiding place has never been discovered. The only picture of the old asistencia which I have been able to discover is the pen sketch in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, 1856), V, 125. The sketch shows a number of buildings then standing but in a ruined state.

58. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

59. The bulk of the Indians in the vicinity of Santa Ysabel lived on the hills of the Mesa Grande, south and west of Santa Ysabel, and on the volcán to the north of the asistencia. Others, who had never knuckled under to the Spaniards, lived in their rancharías on the lower slopes of the Cuyamacas, to the east of the little valley; and, of course, there were Indian houses and fields extending along the valley floor and into Carrizito Canyon to the west. The Indianada of the back country had no cause to love the Mexicans and were, on the whole, happy to see the Americans come in, although in subsequent years they were not justified in this feeling. They were a peaceful folk but could fight if need arose.

60. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

61. Gillespie's report (unpublished; see Note 47, above). See also letter to Hon. George Bancroft, in "Gillespie and the Conquest of California," *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.

62. The flat below Stokes' adobe is in the broad sandy river-bed. Here the crisp salt grass grows under large cottonwoods, while back on the bench land, east and west of the house, are thickets of brush. The hill which rises steeply at the back of the house is covered with thick dry shrubs and rocks, unfit for grazing animals.

63. The exact site of Kearny's last camp, prior to engaging the enemy, is somewhat in doubt. Judging by all accounts, the open area under the huge live oaks at the head of Clevenger Canyon would be the logical place for the camp. However, there is also the possibility that Kearny moved along the base of the hill westward of the Stokes' house, and went into camp in a place known in later years as "Tent City," a temporary summer resort, about two miles from the spot where Gillespie pitched his camp. At the Tent City site there is a huge grove of live oaks but no water. There is a spring at the head of Clevenger Canyon which in a sense offsets the description of the last camp, since Griffin says (*op. cit.*, p. 45): "We encamped, in a grove of live oak but no water except that which was falling from the heavens—and the rain did come down most severely."

Emory (*op. cit.*, p. 108) does not mention the lack of water at the camp. He states: "Our camp was in a valley, overgrown with live oak trees and other shrubbery; but it was too dark to distinguish their character." The description fits either site, but the Tent City grove is, in my estimation, a little too far to the west and too far off the main trail to San Diego via San Pascual.

64. These were some of Frémont's men. In later years, Frémont, for some reason, stated that none of his men wore buckskins. Just why he should repudiate them, at least by inference, on page 563 of his *Memoirs*, is difficult to say.

65. Lieut. E. F. Beale later became General Beale, and as such was surveyor-general of California and owner of the great Tejon Rancho. Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale* (New York, 1912). See also Helen S. Giffen and Arthur Woodward, *The Story of El Tejon*, Los Angeles, 1942.

66. The Sutter gun came in for its share of fame and controversy. According to Charles M. Weber, when Castro left Los Angeles in August 1846 he buried all of his artillery, including the Sutter gun which had been brought down from Sutter's Fort the previous year. Later, ". . . Weber, learning that the [American] forces were searching for it, told Fremont that if he were provided with a detachment of men and some money, he thought he could find it. These were provided, and finding a number of his California friends who were in Castro's army, Weber handed them a little money, and the artillery was found. Among the cannon was the brass field piece of Captain Sutter; this, together with the other brass pieces, was taken on board the vessels, and at the close of the war the Sutter field piece was given to its owner. Sutter in after years presented it to the California Pioneers of San Francisco." George H. Tinkham, *The History of Stockton* (San Francisco, 1880), p. 102.

Sutter himself, writing to *The Pioneer* from Lititz, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Aug. 13, 1879, said that information concerning the "Sutter gun," which had been published by Gillespie in the *Daily Alta California* of July 3, 1866, was erroneous. Gillespie claimed this piece had been on the walls of Sutter's Fort, July 11, 1846. This statement, according to Sutter, was untrue. The gun had been taken to Los Angeles during the revolt against Micheltorena. It had been used at the battle of Cahuenga early in 1845 (Feb. 20-21) and was captured by Castro's forces at that time. Sutter also said he had described this cannon in a previous article (*The Pioneer*, San Jose, Aug. 30, 1879). The same error that Gillespie made was repeated by Judge J. H. McKune in *Themis*, Oct. 5, 1889, and reprinted in *The Life and Times of General John A. Sutter*, by T. J. Schoonover (Sacramento, 1907), pp. 31-32. A sketch of the famous little cannon, the only one I have been able to locate, was made while the piece was in the Society of California Pioneers, and was published in connection with the article, "Fort Ross and the Russians," by Chas. S. Greene, *The Overland Monthly*, XXII (July 1893), 10.

67. According to Philip Crosthwaite, the only Californians with Kearny were Rafael Machado, Antonio María Ortega, Mascio Alvarado and Eduardo Stokes. Crosthwaite was one of the party that accompanied Gillespie to reinforce Kearny. Hayes, *op. cit.*, "Notes on the Battle of San Pascual."

68. See life-sketch of George Pearce in *History of Sonoma County* (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), pp. 580-85. Pearce was born in Louisville, Ky., Jan. 5, 1822. He went to Missouri in the summer of 1845 and in the spring of 1846 enlisted in Co. C, First Dragoons, Capt. B. D. Moore's command. Later he was assigned to Kearny's personal bodyguard, and was the messenger sent by the general to assemble his officers on the night of December 5th for a council of war. He stated that he was in the fight and was but a few feet from Kearny when the latter was wounded "in the loin" by a lance. When Kearny ordered a retreat, Pearce says that Captain Turner cried out: "No, never, men! Never turn your backs on these men, or you will all be cut down. Dismount!" Pearce's statements concerning the fight are substantially those made by other participants.

69. Hayes, *idem*—a resumé of a conversation held with Don Lorenzo Soto and Don Juan Alvarado on the field of San Pascual, some years subsequent to the battle.

70. Véjar, *ibid.*

71. Stephen Watts Kearny was born at Newark, N. J., in 1794. He attended Columbia but left it at the outbreak of the War of 1812, secured a commission as first lieutenant in the 13th Infantry and served under Capt. John E. Wool. He was captured at the

battle of Queenstown Heights and had a brief taste of a British prison, but was soon exchanged and served throughout the war, emerging as a captain. In 1823 he was made a brevet major and as such was in command of four companies of the 1st Infantry at Bellefontaine, near St. Louis. With these troops he accompanied General Atkinson on his exploring expedition up the Missouri River. Upon his return from this long 2,000-mile journey via keel boat, he was promoted to a majority in the third regiment, and later (March 4, 1833) was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the First Dragoons, in their expedition under Colonel Dodge against the Comanche. In 1835 Kearny went with four companies among the Sioux on the upper Missouri. The next year he assumed command, in the capacity of colonel, of the dragoons at Fort Leavenworth. In 1842 he was given command of the third military department, headquarters at St. Louis. He went among the Indians again in 1845, going west as far as South Pass and returning via Bent's Fort. He was ordered west in 1846 to occupy New Mexico and California, and while en route (June 30, 1846) his commission as brigadier general overtook him. After his trip to California and his subsequent embroilment with Frémont and Stockton, Kearny returned to St. Louis, Aug. 26, 1847. He died at St. Louis, Oct. 31, 1848. (William E. Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26; 636-38. See also Francis Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 586.)

It will be seen from the above biographical account that General Kearny had been a soldier since the War of 1812, at which time he was eighteen years old. He had fought Indians for nearly a quarter of a century before he went into action at San Pascual. It is difficult to understand why a man with such a long record of frontier fighting should choose the hard way out at San Pascual when, instead, all common as well as military sense should have told him that it was folly to commit his starved, poorly mounted and half-frozen men to a battle on unfamiliar terrain against an unknown number of the enemy in the semi-darkness of a rainy day. Moreover, it is likewise difficult to understand why such a veteran leader should have sent his men into battle without the simplest precaution of seeing that all the firearms were in working condition. He knew the howitzers were useless and that the little Sutter gun was the only piece of ordnance in battle condition, yet he deliberately sent that gun to the rear and refused permission to Gillespie and his company to take the lead, when he must have known that the latter party was in much better shape than the dragoons. There is no doubt that Kearny was a brave and determined man, but, judging by all the evidence obtainable at this late date, he made a needless sacrifice of his men at San Pascual that day.

73. Captain Johnston in the last entry of his "Journal" (p. 614) stated that one informant said there were 80 Californians awaiting the Americans. Robert C. Duvall ("Extracts from the Log of the U. S. Frigate *Savannah* . . ." this QUARTERLY, III, July 1924, 122) reported 93 men under Pico. William H. Davis (*Sixty Years in California*, San Francisco, 1889, p. 420) said that Lieutenant Beale told Kearny there were 90 men in the enemy ranks. Dr. E. D. French ("Battle of San Pascual," manuscript in Bancroft Library) said that the enlisted men in Lieutenant Hammond's patrol gave the number as 300 to 400. Kearny himself reported in a letter from San Diego to Brig.-Gen. R. Jones, dated Dec. 13, 1846, that Pico's force was ". . . a party of 160 Californians . . ." Thus, with the exception of Captain Johnston, whose estimate of 80 men was probably more nearly correct, the American reports all tended to overestimate the number of Californians in the fight.

As to the figures furnished by the other side, Véjar, who was in the action, said that at the outset, before Pico divided his men at Rancho Soledad, there were 112 horsemen who marched down from Los Angeles. Of this number, some 75 men went on to San Pascual. The remaining 37 were sent to El Cajón Rancho in pursuit of Gillespie. Antonio María Osio, in his "Historia de California, 1815-1848" (manuscript in Bancroft Library),

said the Californians were "sesenta hombres" (60 men), fifteen less than those mentioned by Véjar. Bancroft (*History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, V, 342), after analyzing the various figures given by the contestants, said that Pico's forces numbered about eighty, but that most Californians made it considerably less.

74. Hayes, *op. cit.*, "Indians." The account, "The Pueblo de San Pascual," was written in Spanish by S. Argüello from his rancho, San Antonio Abad y Ti-Juan, Jan. 2, 1856. See Hayes, *op. cit.*, "Emigrant Notes," for an item on Santa Ysabel and San Pascual.

75. Hayes, *ibid.*, "Notes on Battle of San Pascual."

76. Juan B. Moreno, "Vida Militar . . ." (manuscript in Bancroft Library). The author of this "Military Life" was born in Sonora, Mexico, June 24, 1822. He was the son of Don Luis Moreno, captain of a regiment of cavalry in Sonora, and Doña Gertrudis Lesna y Urea of Sonora, daughter of General Urea. When he was twenty-two, Juan left Sonora and came to California. As a lad of seventeen he had seen service in the 5th regiment of cavalry in Sonora. Five years later he deserted from the Mexican army and rode to California with two companions. He was a saddle-maker in Los Angeles when the war broke out in 1846, at which time he went to San Diego in Leonardo Cota's company to harass the Americans.

77. Moreno, *idem.*

78. Hayes, *op. cit.*

79. Véjar, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

80. Véjar, *ibid.*, p. 70.

81. Véjar, *ibid.*, pp. 1, 44 ff.

82. Coronel, *op. cit.*

83. Coronel, *idem.* These lances were the favorite weapons of the Californios and had been since the days of the first entrada in 1769. No hafted lances seem to have survived in California, but two or three of the thin lance blades (long and leaf-shaped, of the size given in the text) have been found. In the Convento de Churubusco near Mexico City are a number of hafted lances which were used against the Americans in Mexico, 1846-47. They are similar in appearance to those used in California. After the capitulation at Cahuenga, Jan. 13, 1847, the Californians, according to Andrés Pico, held on to their lances; said he in a letter dated Apr. 5, 1847, to his brother, Governor Pio Pico: "Likewise there remained in our hands, in spite of the fact that it is not expressly so declared, all of the arms that were considered personal property, which consisted mainly of lances that, with a great deal of effort, had been made in this same country during the rule of Señor Flores." ("Pio Pico's Correspondence with the Mexican Government, 1846-48," edited by George Tays, this *QUARTERLY*, XIII, June 1934, p. 133.) The last lances made in Los Angeles were used to equip a party of lanceros who went out against the Indians during the Garra uprising in 1851. These weapons were manufactured at public expense and cost something like \$3.50 each.

84. Some of the Americans—" . . . my poor fellows," as Dr. Griffin says (*op. cit.*, p. 47), "have as many as 8 wounds on a side; 3 are run through the arm—generally they seem to aim their lances so as to strike a man near the kidneys." One of the victims, Pvt. Joseph B. Kennedy, died in the hospital at San Diego the night of December 19, almost two weeks after the battle, from five lance wounds in the head and one in the arm. Four of the head wounds showed that the lance had penetrated through the bone into the brain. (Griffin, *idem*, p. 50.)

85. Coronel, *ibid.*

86. Alexis Godey, a young mountain man, was known among the Californians as Alejandro Godoy. He accompanied Frémont in 1849 and supplanted the veteran guide, old Bill Williams, on that fatal expedition. Bryant listed him as an officer in the Frémont battalion and assigned to southern duty, i. e., with Stockton at San Diego. In after years

Godey settled in California and was Indian agent at the Tejon during 1862-64, supplanting Theodore Boschulte. Godey settled in the Cuyama Valley, married María Antonia Coronel in 1862, but divorced his wife in May 1869, obtaining most of her property.

87. Abraham Robinson Johnston, the son of Col. John Johnston of Piqua, Ohio, was born at Upper Piqua, May 23, 1815. He was the seventh of fifteen children born to the doughty old frontier soldier and Indian fighter and his wife Rachel. To the Johnston's commodious farm house, to which his father had moved from Fort Wayne, came many honored guests, both Indian and white, and from it young Johnston went to study at West Point, entering that institution at the age of fifteen. In 1832, after two years at the Point, he wrote to his sister, Julia: "Like all the others no doubt, I am rapidly advancing to the Johnston size. I am now five feet ten. You can, of course, judge how much I have grown. I, like all I have left behind, am prone to play tricks, so I have altered as much as Nature would allow." At this time Johnston had as his favorite studies drawing, mathematics, and French. His flair for sketching is revealed in the little thumb-nail sketches which he made in his journal, en route from Santa Fe to Warner's Ranch.

Johnston was graduated from West Point on July 1, 1835. He was promoted in the army to second lieutenant of the First Dragoons and was soon thereafter transferred to the frontier. He saw service at Fort Leavenworth, Fort Gibson, Fort Wayne (where his father had served as U. S. factor in the early 1800's), and at Fort Washita. He was acting-commissary at Fort Leavenworth in 1837 and three years later was recalled to Washington to settle his accounts during that period. In 1843 Johnston accompanied Capt. Nathan Boone's detachment of dragoons from Fort Gibson to the Santa Fe trail. Captain Boone was a son of Daniel Boone, a friend of old Col. John Johnston. Abraham Johnston was promoted to first lieutenant on June 15, 1837. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, the headquarters of his regiment. Colonel Kearny appointed him regimental adjutant June 16, 1846. Two weeks later the War Department promoted Johnston to captain, but he did not receive his commission until Aug. 15, after his march across the plains to Santa Fe. He was made aide-de-camp to Kearny Aug. 17, and continued as such until his death at San Pascual, Dec. 6, 1846.

Charlotte R. Conover, *Concerning the Fathers*, Dayton, 1903; also, "Marching with the Army of the West," ed. by Ralph Bieber, *Southwest Hist. Ser.* (Glendale, 1936), IV, 19-21.

88. One of the main objections to the adoption of percussion lock firearms for use in the U. S. army, as voiced by the board of officers appointed by the Senate, Jan. 21, 1837, was the inability of half-frozen men to cap their pieces. The board, after witnessing trials of the weapons manufactured by Hall, Colt, Cochran, Hackett, Fisher and Leavitt, summed up their findings thus:

"The application of the percussion primer to arms for the use of troops has not yet been made with success. They may, with improved means of attaching them to the nipple or cone, be used by light troops in extended order; but the difficulty of placing an object so small as the cap, during the excitement of action, in excessively cold weather, and in the dark nights, has prevented this improvement in fire-arms (for sporting purposes) from being generally adopted in any service." (*American State Papers*, 1837-38, 24th Cong., 2d sess.; 25th Cong., 1st and 2d. sess., Class V, "Military Affairs," Washington, 1861, VII, 471.) The action at San Pascual would no doubt have justified these claims had the board been aware of the difficulties of the dragoons at that time. As it was, many of the troops during the Mexican War were armed with flintlocks but the U. S. Dragoons were equipped with the Hall breech-loading carbine with the improved side lever which tilted the breech block up to receive the paper cartridge and thus made loading much easier.

89. Véjar, *ibid.*

90. The story of the duel between Pico and Moore was related by Lorenzo Soto and Juan Alvarado to Judge Hayes. Shortly after Moore fell and Pico retreated with his men behind the rocky point, Alvarado got a musket ball through his neck. López also stated that Pablo Apis, an Indian from Temécula, a half-breed son of Machado of San Diego, was in at the death of Moore. (See Note 106, below.)

91. Dr. Griffin's entry of Dec. 6, describing the battle (*op. cit.*, p. 46), is most graphic, as he seems to have noted more of the little incidents in the fight than did many of the other Americans who recorded the event.

92. The sandy river bed was at that time probably about as it is now. The river shifts in its channel from time to time and has, during the course of years, meandered all over the flat. The fight began somewhere between the base of San Pascual hill on the east side of the valley and the brush and boulder strewn upland on which Kearny took refuge later, and was a cavalry action between these two elevations. There were no fixed lines of battle and in the half-light of a murky dawn it was difficult to tell friend from foe, as Dr. Griffin pointed out in his diary. Judge Hayes (*ibid.*, "Notes on the Battle of San Pascual") said:

"Don José María Alvarado and Don José Antonio Serrano were present at San Pascual. The former may have fought. The countrymen smile when they tell of the latter gentleman riding through the strife with no weapon but his reata—as if he had gone out to pasear at a rodeo rather than to take a hand in carnage.

"He always has been a prudent man and proved so on this occasion. He kept his own horse saddled and tied up on this night; put spurs to the animal at the first hostile shouts, to get away. Finding himself presently in the midst of the Americans, whom he could faintly distinguish and seeing the capture and death of Lara, he bore off on the hillside out of danger. . . . 'Don Tonito' (so he is familiarly called) was one of those who lacked confidence in the power of California to worst the American arms; and who, if they could not avow themselves neutral strictly, kept as much as possible out of the vain contest. If Gen. Kearny had appeared in open daylight in compact force, San Pascual might have had as happy a result as that of Cahuenga without striking a blow."

93. Hayes, *idem.*

94. Gillespie, letter to Hon. George Bancroft, dated from Ciudad de los Angeles, Feb. 16, 1847, in "Gillespie and the Conquest of California," *op. cit.* (Note 48, above), pp. 342-43. ". . . I left the Howitzer and moved towards the second, about which the force had begun to rally." Gillespie's account I interpret to refer to the firing of the Sutter gun during this action. Lancey in his "U. S. Ship of War Dale . . ." *The Pioneer*, San Jose, Dec. 6, 1879, also refers to the firing of the artillery, but his version had Gillespie firing off the second howitzer with his mecha prior to discharging the Sutter gun. It may be that either, or possibly both, Gillespie and Lancey were confused over who fired which cannon. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 353 (note), does not believe that any cannon was fired in the fight.

95. Dr. E. D. French was born in New York State on June 20, 1822, where he resided until 1835. He then went with his father to Michigan, studied medicine in Hillsdale County, and was engaged in private practice until 1845, when he went to Fort Leavenworth, enlisting in the army as hospital steward. He served with the First Dragoons in this capacity during their expedition from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego. After the Mexican war, Dr. French remained in California, settling on the Tejon. For an account of his experiences in 1850, and again in 1860, while searching for "gunsight lead" in Death Valley, see Carl I. Wheat, "Pioneer Visitors to Death Valley after the Forty-Niners," this *QUARTERLY*, XVIII (Sept. 1939), 197-200. Later Dr. French went to San Jose, married Miss Cornelia S. Cowles, daughter of Judge Cowles, on Jan. 12, 1858, and

reared two sons, Alfred C. and Addison. Still later Dr. French moved to San Diego, where he became a member of the Board of Supervisors and a property owner in Poway Valley, not far from San Pascual.

96. Referring to Kearny's wounds, Dr. Griffin in his diary, Dec. 20, 1846, *op. cit.*, p. 51, remarks: "The Genls wound has almost entirely cicatrized—the punctured wounds through the arm have become better under the use of pressure judiciously applied—There is one punctured wound through the nates that is not improving so fast as I could desire." See also Kearny's letter to his wife, Mary Radford Kearny, dated San Diego, Dec. 19, 1846, making light of his wounds, ". . . which bled very freely, which was of advantage to me." (Quoted by Valentine Porter, in "Gen. Stephen W. Kearny and the Conquest of California, 1846-7," reprint from *An. Publ.*, Hist. Soc. Southern Calif., VIII, 1911, p. 10.)

97. William H. Dunne, "Notes on San Pascual" (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

98. See Note 11, above.

99. French, see Note 73, above.

100. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

101. "Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth," introd. by Robt. E. Cowan, this QUARTERLY, I (Jan. 1923), 240-41.

101a. Quoted in John T. Hughes' *Doniphan's Expedition* (Cincinnati, 1848), pp. 226-27.

102. This man was referred to as Beatitude, "Godey's half-breed," by Philip Crosthwaite (Hayes, *idem*). He was probably one of the French Canadian voyageurs whom Frémont had engaged for his third exploring expedition in 1844, and was with Godey in the relief party under Gillespie. So far, the roster of the Gillespie party has not been found among the latter's papers.

Crosthwaite settled in San Diego and lived for a time at the old mission. Hayes obtained his information from Crosthwaite in April 1856, when the latter was living at Panasquitos. Judge Hayes (*idem*) visited the battlefield of San Pascual on this same trip. Said the judge: "On the San Diego side, Panasquitos cañada opens out into Soledad Valley. Leaving the houses for San Pascual, a lofty hill—the whole route abounds with wild oats—gives a fine view westward of the Soledad hills and of the ocean at the mouth of the San Bernardo river; descending a succession of hills eight miles, San Bernardo valley opens to the eye—the Snooks house the only object indicating social life, amid the hilly points of varied shapes, with the peaks of Santa Ysabel and Cuyamaca in the background to the eastward and soon then we are upon 'the second battleground'."

103. Antonio María Osio, "Crónica de los Acontecimientos Ocurridos en California, desde 1815 hasta 1846." (Written c. 1850, copied 1876.) Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif.

104. See Note 92, above.

105. Panto was a noted leader of the Diegueño Indians at San Pascual. In Hayes, *op. cit.*, "Indians," is the following item:

"Panto. This is the well known old chief or Captain of the Indians of San Pascual. Don José Serrano tells me that in the Mexican times he was held in great estimation for his fidelity in complying with the orders of the authorities—his pursuit of robbers and general good conduct. On one occasion a borreguero in charge of some sheep in the vicinity was murdered by Indians. Panto raised his men, followed the culprits by their tracks to their hiding place on the heights of San Alejo, set fire to the brush and weeds and burnt them alive. He was afterward saluted as 'Quemador de los Indios'."

This same Indian leader also supplied Stockton with horses and mules for his march on Los Angeles, and ten years later he was still complaining that he had never been paid for them. When Hayes visited the battlefield, he made it a point to visit Panto.

"We found this old Indian captain," wrote Hayes, "chasing a horse—mild and courteous, and prompt when he understood our object. At once he led me to a place about fifty yards toward the hill, from the rocky rise on which his own house stands to the edge of an Indian corral, near which three cows were grazing, and pointed to the exact spot where Moore fell.

"He would be apt to remember this from the fact that nothing is more talked of still among Californians and Indians than the bravery displayed by this officer.

"Directly opposite to the southeast and at the distance of half a mile—a patch of mustard and weed and dry river bed intervening—you see the road descending the steep San Pascual hill: precipices on either side. To the left is the cañada through which the river runs and up which the Californians had their horses grazing."

Panto died from the effects of a fall from his horse in March 1874.

106. Benjamin Daviess Moore, killed in the early morning mists of Dec. 6, 1846, was born in Paris, Ky., on Sept. 10, 1810. Little is known of his boyhood. In 1820, after his father's death, his mother moved to Shelbyville, Ill., where her two sons, Matthew Duncan and Joseph Duncan, by a previous marriage, were living. Young Moore received the best education to be had in those days. At the age of eighteen he was appointed midshipman in the navy and cruised the Caribbean and the Mediterranean. When the Black War broke out in 1832, he was home on leave, and through an exchange was able to resign from the navy in order to join a company of volunteers under the command of one of his step-brothers.

The U. S. Dragoons were formed in 1833, with Henry Dodge as colonel; S. W. Kearny, lieutenant-colonel, and R. B. Mason as major, Jefferson Davis being adjutant. Moore joined it and became a first lieutenant in Company C.

In 1839 Moore married Martha, daughter of Judge Matthew Hughes. Two children were born to them, Matthew Joseph and Martha—"Patsy," nicknamed after her mother. Mrs. Moore died in 1843. According to Judge Hayes, Moore was kind and genial but a stern soldier and good officer with pride in his regiment. (*See* M. J. Moore, "Sketch of Captain Benjamin Daviess Moore," *An. Publ.*, Hist. Soc. Southern Calif., VI, 1903, 10-13. Information was also furnished me by Mrs. Alexander, granddaughter of B. D. Moore, Los Angeles. In after years M. J. Moore, son of Lieutenant Moore, moved to California and settled in Ventura Co., where the family home is still maintained, and where an oil portrait of Moore and several of his personal belongings are preserved.)

107. Moses Mannasse obtained "the North half of the Southwest quarter and the East half of the Northwest quarter of Section thirty three in Township Twelve South of Range One West in the District of lands subject to sale at Los Angeles California containing one hundred and sixty acres according to the official plat of the survey of said lands returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General which said tract has been purchased by the said Moses Mannasse." The patent to this tract of land in San Pascual was issued at Washington, D. C., under President U. S. Grant, Jan. 30, 1874, and was recorded by Mannasse in San Diego, May 2, 1874. (Book 1, Patents of San Diego County, pp. 180-81. No map.)

108. This story of Serrano's is a little difficult to explain. It is not quite clear how Pico and his two leaders could be found in a house when they were supposed to be on the battlefield. Apparently Serrano confused some of the details of the skirmish.

109. Gillespie manuscripts (*see* Note 47, above).

110. Dunne, *op. cit.*, said the Indians provided the command with poles, with which to carry the wounded. This is in accord with the tale told Mrs. Judson by Felicita, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27.

111. The lone willow tree seems to have struck a romantic chord in the hearts of the survivors of the action, particularly in Dr. E. D. French's, who wrote a poem entitled

"The Battle of San Pascual." The last few lines of some fifty are as follows:

"We laid the brave men that so suddenly died
 Ere they marched o'er the land they had barely espied.
 Then peaceful their sleep in the lone grave shall be . . .
 No foe with their chargers and lances draw nigh—
 No grief o'er their graves but the zephyrs soft sigh.
 Farewell: we have left thee: companions in arms;
 Our lives may be joyful or filled with alarms,
 Whatever our joy or our sorrow may be,
 We'll remember the graves by the lone willow tree."

112. El Rancho San Bernardo, consisting of two square leagues at the outset with four leagues more ultimately granted, was first given to Capt. Joseph F. Snook by Gov. J. B. Alvarado, Feb. 16, 1842. The additional four leagues were granted to Snook by Gov. Pio Pico, May 26, 1845, thus giving the captain some 17,763 acres in all. The ranch house, toward which Kearny directed his march, was the home of Snook and his wife, the former María Antonia Alvarado. Captain Snook was an English seaman, naturalized in California as José Francisco Snook in 1833. He was master of the brig, *Jóven Guipuzcoana*, which sailed along the coast carrying cargoes between the Californian and Mexican ports. Eventually, however, Snook abandoned the sea and settled down on his Rancho San Bernardo. (Guard D. Gunn, "El Rancho San Bernardo," *The Southern California Rancher*, Feb. 1945, p. 12.)

113. Accounts vary on this point. Crosthwaite stated that there was no water in the river. Dunne (*op. cit.*) said, "I believe the river was dry then." Emory wrote (*op. cit.*, p. 110) that they had to bore holes for water on the hill and that they crossed the river bed, without mentioning its condition. It seems unlikely that there was water in this stream, whose course lay on the little flat between the base of Mule Hill and Snook's rancho, otherwise a few bold troopers could have reached it under cover of darkness. The account by Sen. Thomas H. Benton, delivered in the U. S. Senate, concerning the dramatic meeting between Lieutenant Beale and Pico's men (John C. Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* . . . Chicago & New York, 1887, I, 87), refers to Beale's dashing through the river without pausing either to take a drink himself or to water his mount. The ensign who met him directed that he be given a drink of water. Beale merely moistened his lips, intimating that the Americans had plenty of water. Whether Benton was drawing upon his imagination for this scene, in an effort to paint his protégé, Beale, in a more heroic light, or whether such was the actual case, is difficult to say.

114. Few people have visited the site of Kearny's last stand. The old barricade of boulders should be marked in some manner, since it is by far the most tangible evidence of those stirring events that still remains in southern California. On the maps a sharp peak, usually called Battle Mountain, is erroneously pointed out as the spot where Kearny and his men made their forlorn camp. This hill is southeast of Lake Hodges and in full view of the rude entrenchment on Mule Hill. The enclosure was 50½ feet in length and 14 feet wide. Along the south side were natural boulders ranging up to 9 feet high, while along the north and west sides they were lower. Here Kearny's men filled in the gaps with loose stones to form parapets 2½ to 3½ feet high. The point was protected on all sides by open ground, except to the northeast where the ground was higher, and had Pico's men possessed cannon they could have made it decidedly unpleasant for the Americans.

115. Although Emory (*loc. cit.*) said he was the one who treated with Pico for the return of the American captives, Senator Benton related that the emissary sent from Kearny's camp was Lieut. E. F. Beale. Benton gives a very circumstantial account of this meeting (Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 87), derived no doubt from Beale himself. The latter,

armed with a saber and a six-barreled revolver concealed under his jacket, rode full-tilt across the Rio San Bernardo with a flag of truce and was met by the *alférez* (see Note 113, above) and two men. After the offer of water, the following conversation took place:

"How do you like the country?" inquired the *alférez*.

"Delighted with it," responded Beale.

"You occupy a good position to take a wide view."

"Very good: can see all around."

"I don't think your horses find the grass very refreshing on the hill."

"Not very refreshing, but strong."

Soon Andrés Pico and his attendants rode up. The Californian dramatically hurled his sword twenty feet one way. Beale, not to be outdone, unbuckled his saber and tossed it in the opposite direction; then, ashamed of carrying a concealed weapon at a peaceful parley, he drew it from his bosom and threw it to one side, an act which the Californians allegedly ignored.

Pico then spoke of the exchange of prisoners. He held three, Alexis Godey, Thomas H. Burgess, and a French Canadian by the name of Jean Batiste, *alias* "Canada Jack." Of these three, Pico would only release Burgess, whom the Americans considered the least intelligent of the three and who, as it subsequently developed, had very little to report and could not furnish Kearny with any news of the hoped-for relief party. Just prior to this exchange of prisoners, Pico had sent a flag into Kearny's camp with some food and clothing for Gillespie, which had been captured by Pico along with the three men already named.

116. John Bigelow, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of John Charles Frémont* (New York, 1856). p. 179.

117. Bigelow, *idem*, pp. 179-80.

118. John W. Davis, "Statement of the Battle of San Pascual" (manuscript in Bancroft Library); Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 588. See also James Madison Cutts, *The Conquest of California and New Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 174, where it is said that Carson and Beale were ". . . accompanied by a Delaware Indian who was attached as a spy to Gen. Kearny's command."

119. Blanche Grant, *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life* (Taos, 1926), p. 83. See also Charles L. Camp, "Kit Carson in California," this QUARTERLY, I (October 1922), 142-43, 147.

120. Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

121. Frémont, *ibid.*, p. 589.

122. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), V, 329 (note 4); W. H. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

123. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 48, says: "They mustered two hundred strong, 80 marines & 120 sailors." Emory (*op. cit.*, p. 112) mentions ". . . a detachment of 100 tars and 80 marines under Lieutenant Gray . . ." Duvall, *op. cit.*

124. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

125. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

126. Emory, *loc. cit.*

127. Crosthwaite's statement in Hayes, *op. cit.*, "Notes on the Battle of San Pascual"; Asa M. Bowen of Co. C, First Dragoons, differs slightly in the matter of appendages: ". . . mules with sheepskins tied to their tails . . ." ("Statement," manuscript in Bancroft Library).

128. John S. Griffin, "Documents for the History of California, 1846-7, and Especially of the Battle of San Pascual" (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

129. Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*

130. Hayes, *op. cit.*

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

VII (*Continued*)

The merchants of New York need no information in regard to the fluctuations in the San Francisco markets. They know too well that no calculation can be relied on in this direction. So great is our distance from sources of supply, so unequal the passage of different vessels, and so difficult is it to know, even approximately, the amount of shipments, and especially of orders on foreign ports, that the most careful estimate is no more to be relied on than the most arbitrary "guess." Chance, however, may favor the merchant sometimes just as it does the gambler; but not so with those humbler and less wealthy candidates for fortune, who seek her in the paths of productive labor. With these, every branch of industry bears the same withered or withering aspect.

Thus, during the year 1850, an immense business was done in cutting and freighting piles, and in driving and capping them. Now, however, that fires, worms, and Cunningham's steam paddy have "piled up the agony" of successful competition, by eating off the piles below and burning down the piles above, besides filling the water-lots with piles of earth, *piles* are no longer to be made by piling. So, too, with hay cutting. Last year hay was worth eighty dollars to one hundred, owing to the scarcity of scythes in the spring. This year, however, everybody has cut hay in every accessible part of the country. Now it is worth twenty to twenty-five dollars, of which ten goes for freight, leaving ten to fifteen dollars for the hay, which fails to pay the cost of cutting and pressing. This same account will hold substantially for farming generally, for fishing, printing, the iron business, Daguerreotyping, stage and express lines, livery stables, blacksmithing, etc., etc., though the journeymen in mechanical trades still receive an amount in wages much higher in proportion than the business warrants, compared with the profits realized in times past by contractors and master workmen.

These instances are sufficient to show that competition was never so active as in California, and that those only can expect to make money here who are prepared to create at the same moment a new product, as well as the demand for its consumption; and are likewise quickwitted enough to make their pile out of it before competition has had time to run the thing down.

The fact is, the very elements of which our community is composed are, in a measure, the cause of this. We have only three per cent of women, and two ditto of children, as compared with the whole population. The vast

proportionate consumption occasioned by these classes at home is here, therefore, almost entirely wanting; so that the same amount of productive labor that would elsewhere supply only the wants of their producers and their families, occasions here an excess of fifty to seventy-five per cent above the wants of the same number of men. This excess, thrown into the market, causes first a depression and then a crash. The consequence has been in many cases a succession of failures, and that, too, without loss from fires, and in spite of sober and industrious efforts for success.

One instance out of thousands may serve to illustrate this. A young man came out as a member of a company owning a schooner and her cargo. They sold out to good advantage, and with his share of the proceeds out here bought a team and commenced hauling goods to the mines. He made at this some \$3,000 in a few months, when the arrival of the overland emigration flooded the country with teams and the profits of the trade vanished. He then sold his team at a loss and bought a schooner at \$7,000, with which he and his two partners sailed for the Islands in 1850. They made four consecutive voyages—the first clearing them \$10,000; the second, \$1,600; the third nothing; and the fourth a loss of \$1,500. Meantime the schooner had depreciated in value from \$7,000 to \$1,800, at which latter price he bought out his two partners and ran her three months on the river. He made at this \$600 and then sold out for \$1,400, thus clearing \$200 for his three months time and use of his capital. He then went home in the last steamer with about \$2,000, cursing his stars that he had not left for the land of steady habits two years sooner.

A candid review of the actual state of affairs in California suggests many sober reflections to those about to emigrate hither. Those who bring out their families and money enough to buy a homestead, and commence operations as farmers, are alone sure to succeed ultimately, for they are at no expense of living, and are always ready to avail themselves of a favorable time, without running any risks. Single men, in whatever business they engage, are subject to from \$50 to \$100 expense for living only, which is sufficient to consume a large part if not all of their earnings. Those who calculated engaging in commerce, navigation, mechanical trades, and especially manufactures, might as well make business a gaming. The conviction of this is what makes hundreds of gamblers in California. Those who come expecting to labor for a living, must rely only on transient employment, with long intervals of idleness, and expenses meanwhile heavy enough to consume all they can earn while employed; or else they must go to the mines and there the average product for the past season has not exceeded \$2 per day. To permanent settlers alone can this country be truly said to offer permanent advantages; and to them nothing equally tempting is elsewhere exhibited. But of our transient adventurers we have already too many.

They can do but little in the way of fortune-making in the present excess of that class of population.

Two grand remedies are proposed as the only means of counteracting this tendency to change, viz.:—the importation of women and the establishment of a railroad and telegraph across the continent. You may think over this in my next, in which I will endeavor to enlighten you on the subject of California Society. Yours, etc.

C. T. H.

CALIFORNIA AS IT IS

(From our own Correspondent)

Published March 30, 1852

San Francisco, February, 1852

The Tone of Society: its recklessness, its excitability. Female Society. Extravagance and Liberality. General Improvement in Social Habits.

The most prominent feature characteristic of California life and manners is liberty amounting to license. At home, surrounded by the thousand social and moral ties which bind together the fabric of society, we are scarcely aware of their power over our every word and action. But when once the air of California has "become native" to the emigrant of the East, he becomes sensible of the daily and hourly restraints he has left behind him. He finds here the distinction between Whig and Democrat almost forgotten, for want of the political interest which elsewhere fans its flames. He feels here none of the sectarian bitterness which at home arms the Protestant against the Catholic, and the Methodist against the Churchman, for these differences are merged in universal indifference. Here are no abolitionists, no fanatics, no parties, no North, no South. Nor is there anything like the moral tone in public opinion, in reference to which elsewhere every man frames all his actions and many of his opinions. Neither is there in California a father to advise nor a mother to entreat, nor brothers, nor sisters, nor wives to persuade with their gentle but powerful influences the being who at home is the center of family affection. All these fetters to human action are here cast aside, and the emigrant finding himself perfectly isolated, without a reputation to maintain and entirely free to act and indulge in a thousand ways, elsewhere condemned as immoral or disgraceful, is but too apt to conform to the circumstances that surround him. Each man finds himself a stranger among strangers, rarely meeting a fellow-townsmen, and still more rarely with anyone disposed to care three straws about him.

Hence we have here little slander, less gossip, no strictures upon the conduct of our companions. Nobody feels any particular interest in anybody else unless there is a prospect of making money out of him, while everybody meets everybody in the "hail fellow well met" spirit of cordiality which is prompted by the sympathy growing out of similar circumstances, and has

at least the advantage over the politeness of etiquette, that it savors not of flattery nor hypocrisy. "Good fellows" are here abundant, but good men? "Aye there's the rub!" Not but what there are good men, men who were good husbands, good fathers and good sons at home, and who are yet such as they always were. But those whose feelings have undergone no change by a residence in California are few and far between. Disappointment has too often flooded the mind with a careless indifference to consequences or a proud defiance of law, human and divine, whence many a fine youth has led a headlong course of hardened dissipation, ending too frequently in crime or an early grave.

Those who have made a voyage in a crowded vessel, or been in the army or graduated at a University, need not be told of the moral tone of men in places where men only do congregate. So unnatural a position induces corresponding effects. Education at home may have been strict, complete, and even elegant, yet when the refining influences that attended its recipient have been wholly withdrawn, and a new set substituted, ten chances to one that the charms of novelty and freedom overmaster conscience and principle. "Circumstances make the man." Let those who doubt it come here and see for themselves.

The second great characteristic of California society is recklessness. This trait takes its rise mainly in the uncertainty which attends all business operations here, of which I endeavored to give some idea in a former letter. The effects of loss and disappointment upon the popular mind are often melancholy in the extreme. To follow out one among many similar instances, many a young man has come to this country expecting to remain, say two years, and then return with a few thousands to claim the hand of his intended—the promised reward of his efforts during their painful separation. Filled with good intentions and bright hopes for the future, he arrives in the realms of chance, and applies himself to digging. Moderate success perhaps attends him; but soon seeing others more prosperous in trading than he is in mining, he presently invests his all in some speculation. Whether he gains or loses thereby, he finds that luck alone rules his destiny, and that prudence and industry, the requisites to success elsewhere, may have very little to do with it. This makes him careless in his operations. By and by he loses all and must begin again. But he finds now that the golden moment has gone. The old places are dug out. Competition has run down his former business. Yet undismayed, he tries again, but this time with less success than before. He gets into debt, and finding that at the gaming table the favors of the fickle goddess are no more blindly bestowed, and far more cheaply earned, than in the walks of honest labor, he soon attends nightly at the saloons. Meanwhile his correspondents from home have dropped off one by one—owing partly to the bad mail arrangements that have so long afflicted

us—until his last star of hope is eclipsed by a letter from his sweetheart, coolly telling him that she has married someone else!

Then it is that recklessness, hitherto restrained by the one idea of his existence, gains full control over its victim. Without any hope of redeeming his broken fortunes here, ashamed to go home to incur the risk of ridicule, expressed or understood, of the croakers who had condemned his enterprise at the outset; unable, perhaps, to do so without running away from his creditors here, whom he has no prospect of paying, he little cares what becomes of him. He does not kill himself, for he loses all feeling of every kind, honor and self-respect among the rest; but as he finds himself after all only one of a multitude, the stoical calm of indifference presently settles over his vacant soul, precluding vigorous effort, and paralyzing at its birth every hope which essays to penetrate the gloom. Then comes dishonesty. Favored particularly by the weakness of the law, and the corruption of its guardians, more than all by the ease with which judgments are evaded, pardons obtained, and jail deliveries effected—California is the rogue's paradise.

Unless you invest in real estate, or in shipping, you cannot be proved to own anything. No one knows your circumstances, and should they be known today, some sudden whim of fortune may render the knowledge useless tomorrow. Are you a merchant? Be careful to use the words "on commission," "on consignment," in the proper places, and your creditors cannot trouble you. Are you a speculator? Call yourself a broker or agent for others, and you may laugh at the courts. No one can ascertain what you actually own, and better yet, most creditors prefer abandoning their claims at once to the task of collecting them by course of law. Litigation costs more than it comes to, and so diligently have the lawyers labored to this end, that they have almost killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. As a class the community has no confidence in them, and if any possible alternative presents itself in settling difficulties, be it by arbitration, compromise, lynch law, or the revolver and bowie knife, they are sure to be preferred to legal proceedings.

So much indifference is felt as to losses, that when an assignment is made, by a failing concern, the assignees are generally allowed to manage everything their own way. Thus the firm of —— & Co. failed to the tune of \$150,000, more or less, some eighteen months ago, and though not one cent has ever been paid in liquidation, notwithstanding that the property, worth at the time every dollar of the liabilities, was placed in the hands of the assignees, no meeting of the creditors has ever been called, or is likely to be.

Inherent in the spirit of recklessness there is found an excitability which may perhaps be deemed the third peculiarity of California society. Every man here is so accustomed to spasmodic effort, that the large majority are incapable of anything else. A good "hole" in the mines lasts but a week or two, when its occupant rushes pell-mell into some new diggings that are

reported discovered somewhere else. Always ready for a march at five minutes notice, the miner is sure to be literally carried away by every wind of a gold story, even though many a weary but fruitless tramp has undeceived him before. No "gold lake" or "gold bluff" hum-bug can be started, ere thousands are off for the favored spot.

The consciousness that others are always on the jump for every favorable chance, makes everyone feel that "the devil is sure to catch the hindermost" (though the foremost is here his favorite prey), and accordingly no one can find time for deliberation. So also in the cities. Does anyone stop on the sidewalk to look at a monkey or parrot, in three minutes time the street is filled by a wondering and gaping crowd. I have seen the loud cries of a teamster to his horses empty a whole street on the spot, thinking they were after a thief. A smoking chimney is enough to call out the engines and set ten thousand alarmed citizens running like madmen in all directions, when the whole thing will blow over before you could count a hundred. Yesterday such an alarm was given, and in exactly two minutes time the whole population had run one square; three bells were tolling, four engines and hook and ladder carriages were clattering up the streets; somebody had cried "hoax" and all was at once quiet as usual.

Again, the accounts by a late mail have informed you of the Indian outbreak in the southern part of the State. Within two days after the news was received here, two companies of volunteers were enrolled, officered, armed and equipped, money raised on State credit, at twenty cents on the dollar, a steamer chartered, and the troops just going on board, when the *Pacific* arrived with the news that the war had ceased. The companies were disbanded, and the speculators, who generally got up these excitements, sadly disappeared.

But you will naturally expect, while on this subject, some information as to the part woman bears in our society. As yet, the female part of our population is only about two per cent of the whole, and of these, including all nations, the proportion who are what women ought to be is not more than twenty per cent. To say nothing of the large number of French women who are imported, like other French frail manufactures, only to take their places among the bottles and decanters, a great many American women who have started to join their husbands here, have found the journey too much for their principles. The attentions of extempore gallants have rendered the husbands they set out to meet the last persons they wished to see on their arrivals. Happily, however, these instances are in the minority; though were it otherwise, the universal depravity of the male population would be sufficient explanation for it.

As it is, the apprehension of insult, and the uncertainty pertaining to every man's character and principles have tended greatly to the seclusion of such genuine ladies as have taken up their residence here.

There are many most respectable families in the suburbs of our cities, but the circle of their acquaintance is always limited and guarded. General or even select parties are never holden. Public halls at which respectable females can be present are few and far between. Very few invitations to call are given, and thus the benefit of refined society is confined to a very few. This state of things is trying, both to the ladies themselves and to such gentlemen as would like to mingle in society on old country terms. But there seems to be no remedy for it, except in the reinforcement of the female ranks from the East. And happily for California these reinforcements are arriving by every conveyance. From thirty to fifty ladies are landing at our wharves by every steamer and the number per month is steadily increasing. Though the evils above mentioned must be endured for a long time to come, yet it is to be hoped a brighter period lies beyond.

It cannot be that so fair a portion of our domain as this should be made a national sink of corruption, whence should arise only an effluvia charged with moral death to all who breathe it. That such has been the case thus far cannot be denied. The evils of drinking, gambling, licentiousness, swearing, recklessness, extravagance, dishonesty, sabbath-breaking, and crime, have received an impulse here, which must be felt to the utmost corners of the Union. Every succeeding steamer takes home a detachment of their votaries, whose preaching and practice will be like those of soldiers returned from a war. But these evils, except extravagance and drinking, are annually on the wane. The large gambling saloons are giving way to smaller ones and these are frequented mainly by foreigners and the lower classes. The theaters, which have thus far been freer from moral taint than in any eastern city, withdraw multitudes nightly from the gaming tables and brothels. Churches are multiplying and enlarging, though their influence is more like that of the theaters in withdrawing the people from Sunday excursions, bull fights, and horse races, than in the promotion of piety, a thing almost unknown in California.

Liberality, too, keeps pace with extravagance. Hardly any man refuses the petition for aid in promotion of any benevolent object, but he gives quite as easily from the reflection that his money will soon leave him in some other way as little beneficial to himself, as from any benevolent wishes towards the object aided. Calls for contributions, too, are rare. Benevolent societies, though on the increase, are yet few, for there is in fact but a narrow field for their operations. Pauperism is here unknown. Industry never fails to earn a living, even though it do no more for years together. And should accident or disease attack a man, the merest acquaintance will often do more for him than a partner or relative elsewhere.

But I find the subject, like the schoolboy's snowball, grows with the distance we follow it. There is in this country so vast a variety of human nature, presented to view under aspects so different from every other, that

an ordinary pen fails to give an adequate idea of it to distant readers. There is much to interest the philosopher, the politician, the economist, and the philanthropist, as well as the speculator, in California, and the many ties which bind her to all civilized communities on earth, should render her contemplation interesting, even though abstracted for a moment from dollars and ounces. Yours, etc.,

C. T. H.

VIII

My official life in the revenue service was of course monotonous. After I had brought order out of the chaos in which I found my desk, I was some use to the Government in improving the shockingly careless methods in the weighers and gaugers departments, which reported to me and often made errors of fifty to one hundred per cent in the quantities of goods they were supposed to ascertain. When I entered the office, it was located on the N. W. corner of Washington and Kearny Streets. It was removed during 1853 to the second and third stories of the "Custom House Block" on the S. E. corner of Sansome and Sacramento Streets where the accommodations were greatly enlarged. This building is standing yet [1887], being used for stores and offices. I worked hard and faithfully, saved all I could of my money, and after paying my debts, I lost all my hoarded funds as heretofore, in trying to make them productive. I got rid of \$1,800 very neatly and expeditiously by purchasing one-half interest in the Tehama House Restaurant⁵⁷ whose ostensible owner was an intimate friend and my roommate (after Howe returned east) named W. B. Gould. He persuaded me to pay \$1,500 for a half interest in the concern, he having just bought the whole of it for that sum, though he made believe the price was \$3,000, under glowing representations of the big profit there was in it. At the end of three months I was glad to pay \$300 more for the destruction of articles of partnership, and in sixty days after that he failed, owing \$6,000. My usual luck with partners.

I had also invested \$3,000 (this time without any partner) in the purchase of a squatter title⁵⁸ to the south half of the one hundred vara lot on the S. E. corner of Second and Folsom Streets. This lot commanded a fine view of the City from Rincon Hill, on which it was situated and became famous for the twelve years of litigation that resulted over the title to it. Besides the cash, I borrowed three thousand more at three per cent per month, to complete the payment for it. In a few moments I had arranged its sale at \$15,000 but on the morning of the very day on which the deed was to be signed, the Supreme Court of the State decided a case which rendered the title valueless. I lost the sale. In a short time a claimant to the true title appeared. I was sued in ejectment and after fighting the case for two years, I was glad to get \$2,000 out of the lot and the \$2,000 house and \$1,500 worth of furniture I had placed on it—losing over \$7,000 of my custom house earnings in the operation.

My only consolation was that my purchaser finally lost the property on final judgment; having meantime exhausted all his other means in the expenses of litigation.

On September 1st, 1853 I was married to Almira Burtnett at Mrs. Hyde's house on First Street near Howard in San Francisco, by Rev. Orange Clark⁵⁹ of the Episcopal Church. Among the friends present,⁶⁰ all of whom continued to be our friends for life, were James K. Lemon, my "best man," now of New York; Charles H. M. Lellan, now of Bath, Me., who in the following year married Louise Kendrick, bridesmaid; Capt. and Mrs. John Nicholson, both now deceased; Arnold M. Comstock, deceased, and his wife, Sarah T. Comstock, still the fast friend of the family (1887); Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Hyde and William Hyde, their son, all deceased; Henry C. Hyde, now an attorney in San Francisco. Rudolph Herold was our musician, afterwards famous as an orchestrian and impresario in San Francisco. (He is the father of several notable sons, although himself now a paralytic.) Jacob Underhill and wife; Wm. Meeks, now of Oakland; J. C. L. Wadsworth, now Insurance Commissioner of San Francisco.

We remained a month or two at Mrs. Hyde's, then took rooms in a Chinese cottage⁶¹ on Stockton Street, nearly opposite the old Unitarian Church, in course of construction and in which we were soon engaged as organist and soprano at \$150 per month. Our choir there consisted entirely of my own family except the tenor, Washington Elliott, who still survives, though now a very old man. My wife was soprano, Louise was alto, C. H. M. Lellan, her husband, was bass. It was there that I began to make those arrangements of my father's sacred music (from memory) and other choice pieces, which were used in my choirs for many years and contributed to my reputation as always getting the best music in the City. My wife had the richest mezzo soprano I ever heard. She was full of music and poetry and rendered her part with so much expression as well as accuracy that she fairly melted the hearts of the audience.

I well remember one Sunday evening while we were singing that sweet simple melody for the dulcimer, "Siloam," the wind suddenly left the organ. The negro blower had become so absorbed in the singing that he had forgotten to blow, while the tears were streaming down his face! On another evening the celebrated Col. E. D. Baker,⁶² orator, lawyer, statesman and soldier was so completely overcome by her rendering of "Brattle Street" that he lingered after all the people had left. For two years we continued to conduct the music of the Church, it being the pleasantest choir service I ever rendered. But then my dear wife was attacked by laryngitis, in consequence of the faulty position of the organ while singing, her nervousness and lack of proper training; and after three years of suffering, though the pain ceased, her voice had lost its power of song.

Our residence in that cottage lasted but three months, yet those three

months were eventful. On one occasion we gave shelter to Ogden H. Burrows, a young shipping merchant, who, having in some manner offended the longshoremen in the matter of dealing with one of his crew, was being hunted by a mob of drunken sailors for the purpose of lynching him. On another occasion the house took fire, but was extinguished by Myra's presence of mind before the firemen arrived, who found her in a dead swoon from excitement and exhaustion. It was there that M. Lellan and Louise Kendrick were married.

IX

In the spring of 1854 the Treasury Department sent out from Washington an expert auditor, one J. Frank Miller (still auditor thirty-five years later), and as secret agent the distinguished wit and litterateur, afterwards my good friend, but then a stranger to me, J. Ross Browne.⁶³

Mr. Miller's duty was to perfect the crude methods of accounting previously alluded to; and he did it by a series of changes in the duties of the several clerks and their system of business. He established his own permanent department in the third floor, and appointed his own clerks. He one day relieved me of the custody of all the completed entries of merchandise which I had theretofore kept, awaiting the merchants' calls for their respective excesses of deposits. He gave me his receipt for each of these entries by its number. But by and by, two of these entries were missing. He called on me for them and I not only had them not, but showed him his receipt for them. This did not satisfy him. He called again and again with constantly increasing insolence, insisting that I must have them, until after several weeks they turned up from a pigeon hole in one of his own clerks' desks. I supposed that would be the end of it; but no. He several times afterwards taunted me with my carelessness about this transaction, until one day I lost patience and let out the Irish half of my tongue on him in a way that not only put a quietus on that calumny, but made an enemy of him for many years. I cared nothing for this at the time, for I was not in his department nor accountable to him. But soon I had an assistant appointed at my desk; an ignorant, drunken, quarrelsome, old soldier of the Mexican War, named Bowman. I needed no assistant and had asked for none, and this man soon became an intolerable nuisance to me. Then one duty after another was taken from me till I had little or nothing left to do. The chronic idleness at my desk shortly attracted the attention of secret agent Browne, and about Christmas I received a note from the collector informing me that after December 30th my services would no longer be required.

I took the note to the collector, Maj. Richard P. Hammond, and asked an explanation of it. He showed me the order from the Secretary of the Treasury for my dismissal by name and the abolition of my desk; regretted the loss of my services, gave me a handsome letter of recommendation and I left.

The loss of the position was a blessing in disguise; though many years elapsed, years of poverty, suffering and struggle before I began to perceive where the blessing came in!

I determined to undertake business as a ship broker. Before leaving the Custom House I copied from the books at the registry desk an alphabetical list of all the vessels owned at San Francisco with their age, tonnage, rig, etc., and thus possessing myself of exclusive information on these points, I took an office in the then new Merchants Exchange Building⁶⁴ on Battery Street, and advertised as a ship broker. I worked hard and faithfully and I ought to have succeeded. Had I been favored with that natural gift of magnetism, which attracts instead of repelling the crowd, what a career might mine have been! But throughout my life I have been an unconscious and unwilling Ishmaelite to all but a few of my race. As Myra used to say—"there is the Saxon race, the Celtic race, the Negro race, the white race and the Hopkins race, and the Hopkinses are the raciest of all." People generally will not deal with me if they can help it. I inspire fear and dislike at first acquaintance. Hence the battle of life has always been to me a continuous charge uphill against superior forces thoroughly entrenched and enfilading me with a cross fire from both wings! So, during four months, January 1st to April 20th, 1855, I made but three transactions netting me ten dollars, twenty-five and fifty, respectively, in commissions, while my office rent cost me one hundred, and my family of four persons were living as best we could on our Sunday earnings. We had moved into the new house on the lot with a bad title, previously mentioned, in the fall of 1854, and the dampness of the plaster brought on the laryngitis by which my dear wife lost her voice. She had to retire from the choir, and all I could earn as an organist was \$75 per month. My savings in the Custom House were all used in the payment of old debts, in losses, in the purchase of that lot, in building that cottage and furnishing it and in litigation. Moreover, our child, Belle, whose system had been poisoned by distillery fed milk, used in weaning her before the proper age, had become the victim of marasmus. She failed from day to day and would surely die if we could not give her an entire change of food and climate. We decided that if it were possible, we would leave the coast and return east. How was this to be done?

The only means we had to raise money was from the sale of the house, lot and furniture. After a long negotiation with Capt. O. W. Spencer (my mortgage was for \$3,000) I induced him to pay me \$2,000 more than he had already advanced on the property and to release me from the note and take the whole thing off my hands. With a good title that property was worth \$16,000, and he was willing to risk \$5,000 on his judgment of the title, which he knew all about. He paid \$600 of the \$2,000 down and agreed to pay the \$1,400 in three months; so we decided to start wife and children at once to save poor little Belle's life, if possible, while I would follow as soon as I

could collect the \$1,400 from Captain Spencer. We accordingly packed up and left our first unfortunate attempt at a home.

Myra and the two children embarked on the elegant steamer *Golden Gate*, then the finest of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co.'s boats (afterwards remembered for her frightful wreck),⁶⁵ and heartbroken as we were, we tore ourselves apart on this, our first separation. I went back to Mrs. Hyde's to board.

On returning from the wharf whence I had watched the last cloud of smoke from the steamer that was bearing away all that made life of value to me, I repaired to my office, which as usual, was empty. I bent forward over my desk and completely broke down in floods of tears. Everything looked black and discouraging. Failure in every business I had undertaken during the seven years except only as a Government clerk, and unable to retain that position: without money or credit, or friends, who could or would (if they could) do anything for me; without a profession and now too old (29 years) and burdened with family wants to acquire one. . . .

I was suddenly aroused from this sad reverie by a hearty whack on my shoulder and the words, "Hullo, Messmate! What, asleep at this time of day? Wake up and attend to business for I have come to charter my ship to you this morning!" Starting up with the tears still on my face, I blurted out, "Damn you! Why didn't you tell me that yesterday morning."

It was Captain Barry of the Am. clipper ship *Saracen*, whom I had been pressing for weeks to accept an L 6 Charter for guano from the Chincha Islands to Valencia in Spain, but on whom I could not apparently make the least impression.⁶⁶ Had the \$1,500 commissions I received on that job been earned the day before, I could have accompanied my family, and my whole future life would doubtless have been changed!

But as it was I worked away three months more without making another commission, awaiting Captain Spencer's payment [on sale of house] and then joyfully settled up my little affairs, packed my trunk, bought my ticket for New York by the steamer *Pacific*, and on the day before she sailed, shipped all the money I had to Myra except a few dollars for Isthmus expenses. As I went to bid goodbye to my few friends, judge of my horror when M. Lellan informed me about three o'clock that B. had finally obtained an indictment against us for "assault with intent to kill him." [Hopkins had horsewhipped this person for insulting a lady.] I could not get off on the *Pacific* unless, in the fashion of the time with other runaways, I could manage to board her after she had sailed.

(To be continued)

NOTES

57. The San Francisco *Directory* for 1854 gives G. W. Frink as manager of the Tehama house, NW cor. Sansome and California streets; and W. B. Gould as proprietor of Alden's Branch (a restaurant at 81 Sansome St.). By 1856, Gould has changed his occu-

pation radically, being listed as an employee at the U. S. Branch Mint.

58. This decision will be found in 3 Cal. Rep. 444; see also *Soulé et al, op. cit.*, pp. 366, 467-68, for contemporary comments.

59. Rev. Orange Clark acted as scribe for George C. Yount's "Chronicles," edited with introduction and notes by Charles L. Camp, this *QUARTERLY*, II (April 1923), 3-66; biographical note on Dr. Clark, pp. 3-4. His grandson, Dr. W. R. P. Clark of San Francisco, is a member of this Society.

60. Data on the guests at Hopkins' wedding, taken from the then current S. F. directories, are as follows: W. F. Hyde was a merchant; James McK. Lemon, a real estate agent; A. M. Comstock, a broker; Jacob Underhill, agent for Thomas Tillotson & Co., manufacturers and importers of hardware at No. 7 Maynard's Row, California and Battery streets; W. N. Meeks, a real estate agent and conveyancer; J. C. L. Wadsworth, in the hardware business at Montgomery and Merchant streets,

61. *Soulé et al, op. cit.*, pp. 387, 489, say that some of the Chinese dwellings were brought in frames direct from China, and describe them as "small and incommodious, though extraordinary numbers somehow contrive to creep into them and live comfortably." Chinese polished granite was said to have been used for the fronts of "the more finely finished edifices" surrounding the U. S. Marine Hospital on Rincon Hill. As contemporary directories give some 20,000 Chinese in the city, the "extraordinary numbers," quoted above, does not seem an exaggeration, but makes one wonder how there happened to be any cottages left over for occupancy by Caucasians.

62. For an account of this "orator . . ." (who was chosen July 4, 1837, speaker-of-the-day in Springfield, Ill., over Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, etc.), see Milton H. Shutes, "Colonel E. D. Baker," this *QUARTERLY*, XVII (Dec. 1938), 303-24. A portrait of Baker is given *op. p.* 172 in Vol. 4 of Z. S. Eldredge's *History of California* (N. Y. 1915).

63. The Dublin-born adopted son of California who, in 1849, transcribed her own growing pains (*Report of the Debates in the Convention of California*, Washington, 1850), is the subject of Dorothy O. Johansen's paper, "J. Ross Browne," in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXII (Oct. 1941), 385-400. A grandson of Browne's, the late Spencer C. Browne, mining engineer, was engaged in historical researches respecting his grandfather at the time of his own death in February 1945 (this *QUARTERLY*, XXIV, March 1945, 90-91).

64. According to the historical sketch under the entry for the Merchants' Exchange in Colville's S. F. *Directory* for 1856-57, the site in 1852 was at 123 Sacramento Street, "one square south of its present location," which was then at 135 Clay Street, between Sansome and Montgomery, to which it had moved in 1855. By 1861 it had moved to 521 Clay Street; and in 1868 the "new" location was on the south side of California between Montgomery and Sansome. Hopkins seems here to have reinforced his memory by referring to *Soulé et al, op. cit.*, p. 552, where the label under the picture reads, "Merchants' Exchange, Battery Street," apparently in error. At the 123 Sacramento Street site, it will be recalled, a line of telegraph was completed in September 1853, connecting it with Point Lobos (South Head), to signal inbound vessels.

65. Out of 242 passengers and 96 crew on the *Golden Gate*, 198 were lost off Manzanillo on July 27, 1862, in a fire which destroyed the vessel. (See Ernest A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers*, San Francisco, 1938, pp. 61-2, 291 ff.)

66. The three small and precipitous Chincha Islands, some 12 miles off Peru, were once the source of vast quantities of guano, as the caves and hollows were choice resting places for sea fowl. Export by Peru began in 1840. At the time of which Hopkins was writing, a "Guano War" (1853-54) had been in progress between Pres. José Echenique of Peru and the former president, Gen. Ramón Castilla.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

December 1, 1946 to February 28, 1947

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Hanna, Phil Townsend, comp., *The Dictionary of California Land Names*, Los Angeles, Automobile Club of Southern California, 1946.

From MR. FRED B. BAIN—Leslie Salt Co., *Salt by Leslie*, [San Francisco, 1947].

From the late MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—*California Poetry Folios: Part 1*, Burgess, Gelett, *Ballade of Fog in the Cañon*, San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1947; Hammond, George P., editor, *The Discovery of Florida, being a true Relation of the Vicissitudes that attended the Governor Don Hernando De Soto and some Nobles of Portugal in the Discovery of Florida, now just given by a Fidalgo of Elvas*, Translated by Buckingham Smith, with a new introduction by George P. Hammond, San Francisco, Printed at the Grabhorn Press, for the Book Club of California, 1946.

From BENICIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—Fisher, Capt. Frank B., and others. *An Historical Background of the City of Benicia*, Benicia, 1946; *Historical Benicia*, [Benicia, 1946].

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Mason, Otis Tufton, *Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art without Machinery*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904, 2 vols., Text and Plates; *San Francisco Blue Book, 1928*, San Francisco, Jed J. Hoag, c. 1928; *Social Register, San Francisco, 1922*, New York, Social Register Association, c. 1921; Taylor, Deems, *Walt Disney's Fantasia, with a foreword by Leopold Stokowski*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1940.

From CALIFORNIA PIONEERS OF SANTA CLARA COUNTY—*California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, Organized June 22, 1875* [San Jose, 1947].

From CALIFORNIA RECONSTRUCTION AND REEMPLOYMENT COMMISSION—*Forecasting a City's Future, Sacramento, California*, Sacramento, 1946.

From MR. MARION CLAWSON—Clawson, Marion, and Calhoun, Wendell, *Long-term Outlook for Western Agriculture, general Trends in Agricultural Land Use, Production and Demand*, Berkeley, 1946.

From MR. WASHINGTON DODGE—*San Francisco Blue Book, Season 1891-92*, San Francisco, The Bancroft Company, 1892.

From MR. AUBREY DRURY—Drury, Aubrey, *California, an Intimate Guide*, Revised edition, New York, Harper & Brothers, [c. 1947].

From MRS. JEROME A. HART—Bierce, Ambrose, *The Collected Writings, with an Introduction by Clifton Fadiman*, New York, The Citadel Press, [c. 1946].

From MR. HARRY H. HILP AND MR. J. FRANK BARRETT—*The Story of Barrett & Hilp*, [n. p., c. 1945].

From MISS STELLA HUNTINGTON—Williams, Mary Floyd, *Fortune Smile Once More!* New York, Bobbs-Merrill, [c. 1946].

From MR. W. H. HUTCHINSON—Rhodes, Eugene Manlove, *The Little World Waddies*, [El Paso, Texas, Carl Hertzog, c. 1946].

From MISS HELEN KINSELL—[Reynolds, Stephen Allen] *Carmel, its Poets and Peasants*, by "S. A. R.," Carmel, Pine Cone Press (2d printing, August, 1925); Carmel, Bohemian Press (4th printing, October, 1927).

From ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.—Wright, William (Dan De Quille), *The Big Bonanza*, Introduction by Oscar Lewis, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Native Sons of the Golden West, *By-Laws of San Francisco Parlor, no. 49*, [San Francisco, 1947]; San Francisco Architectural Club, *Year Book, 1913, 1915*.

From BROTHER MATTHEW McDEVITT—McDevitt, Brother Matthew, *Joseph McKenna, Associate Justice of the United States*, Washington, D. C., Catholic University of American Press, 1946.

From MR. AUGUSTIN S. MACDONALD—Macdonald, Augustin S., *Lays of Leisure*, Oakland, Privately printed, 1946.

From DR. FULMER MOOD—Mood, Fullmer, "Andrew S. Hallidie and Librarian-ship in San Francisco, 1868-79," Reprinted from *The Library Quarterly*, vol. XVI, no. 3, July 1946.

From MR. THOMAS W. NORRIS—*Plan of Yerba Buena, showing the Location of Town Lots granted by Governor Alvarado to Jacob P. Leese & Salvador Vallejo, May 27, 1839*, issued in Facsimile by Thos. W. Norris, as a Memento of Christmas, 1946, [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1946],

From MR. E. F. O'DAY—Grunsky, C. E. and Manson, Marsden, *Reports on the Water Supply of San Francisco, California, 1900 to 1908, inclusive*, San Francisco, Britton & Rey, 1908; Manson, Marsden, *Efforts to obtain a Water Supply for San Francisco from Tuolumne River, 1907*; O'Shaughnessy, M. M., *Report on the Underground Water Supply of San Francisco County*, San Francisco, 1913; San Francisco Consolidation Act and other Acts relating to the Government of the City and County of San Francisco, 1887; Spring Valley Water Company vs. San Francisco, *Rate Suits for 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06, Defendants' Brief on Final Hearing*.

From MR. HOWARD S. REED—Reed, Howard S., "Major Trends in California Agriculture," Reprinted from *Agricultural History*, October, 1946.

From THE ROXBURGHE CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO—*Tamalpais, Enchanted Mountain*, San Francisco, The Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, 1946.

From SACRAMENTO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—Lord, Myrtle Shaw, *A Sacramento Saga: Fifty Years of Achievement, Chamber of Commerce Leadership*, Sacramento, Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, [c. 1946].

From SAN MATEO COUNTY TITLE COMPANY—Wyatt, Roscoe D., *Historic Names and Places in San Mateo County*, published for the San Mateo County Historical Society, Redwood City, San Mateo County Title Co., 1947.

From MR. ROBERT TAFT—Taft, Robert, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West IV: Custer's Last Stand—John Mulvany, Cassilly Adams and Otto Becker," Reprinted from the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, Kansas, November, 1946.

From MRS. JEANNE VAN NOSTRAND—Thompson, Colonel William, *Reminiscences of a Pioneer, San Francisco*, [n. p. 1912].

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—*The Laws of the Town of San Francisco, 1847, with an introduction by William W. Clary* [n. p., n. d.]; Wagner, Henry R., "The House of Cromberger," reprinted from *To Doctor R.*, Philadelphia, 1946.

From JUDGE ARDIS M. WALKER—Walker, Ardis M., *Francisco Garcés, Pioneer Padre of Kern*, Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society, [c. 1946].

From WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—*United States-Canada Boundary Treaty Centennial, 1846-1946*, [Tacoma, 1946].

From WHEELER PUBLISHING COMPANY—Beals, Frank Lee, *The Rush for Gold*, Chicago, Wheeler Publishing Company, [c. 1946].

From DR. LYNN T. WHITE, JR.—Keep, Rosalind A., *Fourscore and Ten Years: a History of Mills College*, [San Francisco, Printed by Taylor & Taylor], 1946.

From WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK MEMORIAL LIBRARY—William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, *Report of the First Decade, 1934-1944*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. J. EARL LUKENS—Picturesque Auburn, Special Souvenir Edition, *Placer County Leader*, Tuesday, May 8, 1900.

From MR. WALTER B. ROUNTREE—*The New San Francisco Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2, July, 1906; *The Wave*, San Francisco, vol. 18, no. 14, October 1, 1898.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MRS. C. E. MACKENZIE—Barnes, James, Account Books and Diary, 1847-1865. 4 vols.

From MRS. MARION MONTAGUE—Deed: Clark M. Joslin to John Allen, Lot 419, City of San Francisco, December 1, 1863.

From MR. GEORGE E. MURPHY—Register of National Hotel, Lancaster & Hasey, Proprietors, Nevada City, January 5, 1869 to January 31, 1871.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From the late MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Coulter, Edith M., and Van Nostrand, Jeanne, editors, *A Camera in the Gold Rush*, Part 12: "Nevada Fall, Yosemite," Text by Ansel Adams, San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1946.

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Photograph of the Portrait of B. B. Redding, painted by Thomas Hill, presented to the Redding School, San Francisco, by Joseph D. Redding, son of B. B. Redding.

From MR. H. J. BREEN—Photographs of San Francisco: 1862, Printed by L. Nagel, Published by A. Rosenfield; April 14, 1906, from 7th and Market Streets; 1906, after the Fire; April 1909, Three Years After; Maps of San Francisco: Copy of Official Map, Wm. M. Eddy, January 15, 1851 (photograph); Map of City, Wm. M. Eddy, January 15, 1852 (photograph); Entrance to San Francisco Bay, 1859, U. S. Coast Survey; San Francisco, 1862 (no title); Map of San Francisco, from latest surveys for San Francisco Directory, 1871; San Francisco Block Map (no date); Burned District, April 18-23, 1906; Map of California; U. S. War Department, Geological Map of a part of the State, explored in 1855, by Lieut. R. S. Williamson.

From MR. THOMAS H. ENGLISH—Photostat: Vischer, Edward, The Mammoth Tree Grove, Calaveras County, California, and its Avenues, 1862.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER—Photograph: Papa McDermot, Father of Maxine Elliott, With a Note by Mr. J. O. Gantner, February 25, 1947.

From MR. RALPH H. HILTON—Bancroft's Map of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft and Compy., 1864; Folded in cloth case; Bancroft's Map of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and British Columbia, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft & Compy., 1868. Folded in cloth case.

From MISS ALICE COLDEN HOFFMAN—Map of Tide Lands to be sold at Auction by Talbert & Leet. Sale to commence Wednesday, June 2d, 1869.

From MR. PAUL JOSEPH LANGDON—Bancroft's Official Guide Map of City and County of San Francisco, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1873. Folded in cloth case; Bancroft's Official Guide Map of City and County of San Francisco, San Francisco, The Bancroft Co., 1887. Folded in cover; Photograph: Presidio of San Francisco.

From MR. WALTER E. PLANK—Oil Portrait of Captain Ebenezer Dorr. (Framed.)

From MRS. MILDRED POMMER—Etching: Richardson's Bay, by Julius Pommer. (Framed.)

From MR. CHESTER C. POST—A large Collection of Glass Negatives.

From MILTON H. SHUTES, M.D.—Lithograph: In Memoriam, Abraham Lincoln, by C. Nahl. (Framed.)

From MRS. EARL R. SHIPP—Photograph: Miss Louise Mary Shipp, with Portrait of her Great Grandmother, Mrs. John B. Weller.

From LOREN B. TABER, D.D.S.—Two Photographs of James G. Fair.

From MR. R. L. UNDERHILL—Photograph: Sutter's Mill Site, Coloma, California, June, 1946.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. RAYMOND GUSTAFSON—Two Ale Bottles.

From MR. OLIVER OLINGER—Western Auto Stage Co., Time Table, (circa 1910).

From MILTON H. SHUTES, M.D.—Naglee Brandy Bottle.

From MR. THOMAS W. STREETER—Menu of Alden's Dining Saloon, Tehama House, San Francisco.

From MRS. GERTRUDE C. WEIPER—Folder: Lake County California, (1910?).

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

For the Year Ended December 31, 1946

The California Historical Society, under the able leadership of President Anson S. Blake, recorded considerable progress during the year 1946. The Society's officers, managing director and members have given effective help in activities relevant to the centennial celebrations. The manuscript by John A. Hussey, tentatively entitled "California's Day Book, 1846-1850," is nearing completion, and it is hoped that publication will be made next year. Plans for additional publications in 1947 have been made. A course of ten lectures given at the rooms of the Society by the Reverend Peter M. Dunne, S.J., covering the history of California to 1900, was well attended by members and friends of the Society.

MEMBERSHIP

The record of growth of the Society during 1946 was impressive. The total membership increased during the year from 896 to 1,148, or a net gain of 252. The number of patron members increased from nineteen to twenty-one; of sustaining members from fifty-six to seventy-three. It is hoped that members will assist in bringing others into the Society throughout 1947.

MEETINGS

Eleven meetings of the Board of Directors, and eight luncheon meetings, with an average attendance of 100, were held. The speakers at the luncheons and their subjects were:

January 25: George L. Harding, "Collections of the Society."

February 14: Peter M. Dunne, S.J., "Background of the California Missions."

March 14: William G. Paden, "The Lore and Lure of California."

May 9: George E. Mowry, "The Johnson-Hughes Incident of 1916."

June 13: Aubrey Neasham, "Tracing the Coronado Trail on the West Coast of Mexico."

September 12: Raoul H. Blaquie, D.D.S., "French Activities in California Prior to Statehood."

October 10: Leslie J. Freeman, "Alameda County, Past and Present."

November 14: Neal Van Sooy, "California Newspaper Centennial."

NEW DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Elected as Directors at the annual meeting held on January 25 were: Anson S. Blake, Allen L. Chickering, Templeton Crocker, Ralph H. Cross, Aubrey Drury, Sidney M. Ehrman, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Joseph R. Knowland, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., C. O. G. Miller, Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, Miss Else Schilling, Walter A. Starr.

At the first meeting of the Board of Directors held after the annual meeting, Anson S. Blake was elected President, Joseph R. Knowland, Sidney M. Ehrman and Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., first, second and third Vice-Presidents respectively, Warren R. Howell Secretary and George L. Harding Treasurer, all to serve during 1946. On May 8 the resignation of Miss Else Schilling was regretfully accepted, and on June 12 Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs was unanimously elected by the Board as a Director.

GIFTS

Members and friends have been generous to the Society. Stimulated by the Committee on Library and Gifts headed by Ralph H. Cross, the number of donors to the Society doubled over the previous year. Gratitude is expressed to the 200-odd contributors who have added to the library and museum, and all major gifts have been listed and acknowledged in the *QUARTERLY*. Many of the items received are unique or of particular intrinsic value, and will serve to strengthen the resources of the Society immeasurably.

LIBRARY AND COLLECTIONS

Increased use of the Library and museum by members and qualified research students has been noticeable. Reference service by telephone, letter, and personal contact has been given other libraries, institutions and members in steadily increasing volume. This has been largely because of interest occasioned by the centennial celebrations now current. As the public demand for assistance by the Society's staff increases with the approach of 1948, the need for volunteer help becomes increasingly urgent, and members are once again invited to contribute their services at the Society's rooms whenever possible.

The Treasurer's Annual Report has been submitted, and will be published in the *QUARTERLY*. It shows that despite rapidly increasing operating expenses, the Society was able to end the year with a surplus.

Respectfully submitted,

WARREN R. HOWELL, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

January 31, 1947

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1946 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1946

ASSETS

Cash—Commercial Account	\$ 823.08	
Publication Fund Savings Account	5,234.83	
Library Fund Savings Account	1,293.10	
Office Revolving Fund	20.00	\$ 7,371.07
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G		200.00
Accounts Receivable—		
General Fund	\$ 10.00	
Publication Fund	158.32	168.32
Inventory of Publications		894.55
Prepaid Insurance		216.00
Total Assets*		<u>\$ 8,849.88</u>

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable—		
General Fund	\$ 11.39	
Publication Fund	2.31	
State Sales Tax Payable	15.89	
Withholding Tax Payable	260.40	
Prepaid Dues	605.00	\$ 894.99

FUNDS

General Fund	\$ 1,114.43	
Publication Fund	5,347.36	
Library Fund	1,293.10	
Cavalier Memorial Fund	200.00	7,954.89
Total Liabilities and Funds		<u>\$ 8,849.88</u>

*Library, Collections, Furniture and Equipment are not valued on the books.

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1946

RECEIPTS

Dues:

Active Members	\$ 9,465.00	
Patron Members	2,200.00	
Sustaining Members	1,812.50	\$ 13,477.50

Contributions:

General Purposes	\$ 1,343.22	
Special Purposes	—	1,343.22

Sales:

“Quarterly”		580.50
Interest Earned		6.51
Miscellaneous Revenue		10.50
Total Receipts		<u>\$ 15,418.23</u>

EXPENDITURE

Operating Expenses:		
Salaries	\$ 7,452.50	
Rent	1,800.00	
Telephone	157.64	
Office Supplies	368.64	
Postage and Express	66.47	
Insurance	160.00	
Library Expenses	58.23	
Miscellaneous	95.46	\$10,158.94
Membership and Publicity		301.35
Luncheon Expenses		237.97
Exhibit Expenses		12.34
"Quarterly" Publication Costs		4,229.84
Total Expenditure		<u>\$14,940.44</u>
Excess of Receipts over Expenditure		\$ 477.79
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		636.64
Fund Balance at End of Year		<u>\$ 1,114.43</u>

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1946

Sales of Publications		\$ 1,231.54
Cost of Sales:		
Inventory at Beginning of Year	\$ 1,861.90	
Additions to Inventory	—	
	\$ 1,861.90	
Inventory at End of Year	894.55	967.35
Gross Profit from Sales		\$ 264.19
Selling Expense		162.26
Net Profit from Sales		\$ 101.93
Interest on Savings Account		33.32
Net Gain to Fund		\$ 135.25
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		5,212.11
Fund Balance at End of Year		<u>\$ 5,347.36</u>

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1946

Sale of Duplicate Books		\$ 7.69
Interest on Savings Account		12.76
Net Gain to Fund		\$ 20.45
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		1,272.65
Fund Balance at End of Year		<u>\$ 1,293.10</u>

CAVALIER MEMORIAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

Contributions		\$ 25.00
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		175.00
Fund Balance at End of Year		<u>\$ 200.00</u>

Meetings

On November 14, 1946, Neal Van Sooy, director of the Stanford University Alumni Association, was luncheon speaker, choosing for his subject the "California Newspaper Centennial." Behind the actual appearance of the first paper published in California, the *Californian*, in Monterey on August 15, 1846, is an interesting history concerned with the mechanics of publication—the Ramage-style press, which was brought to Monterey in 1834 by Thomas Shaw of Boston for A. V. Zamorano, former secretary to Gov. José María Echeandía. Mr. Van Sooy cited here as authority George L. Harding, whose book, *Don Agustín V. Zamorano* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1934), embodies many years of research. After service in the promulgation of Mexican official matters, etc., and a journey to Sonoma, the press was stored during 1845 in a government building in Monterey where it was discovered, in a state of dilapidation, by the American, Robert Semple, and used by him and Walter Colton in their journalistic attempt, the aforesaid *Californian*.

A fortnight earlier (July 31, 1846), Edward C. Kemble, a printer by trade, had landed in San Francisco aboard the *Brooklyn* in Samuel Brannan's party, included in the Mormon baggage being the complete equipment of a printing office, which was shortly set up in San Francisco. Within six months a sheet, the starting point of journalism in San Francisco, was pulled from this press, with the label *California Star* and the date for the first regular issue, January 9, 1847. But, as the speaker pointed out, the first type lines had already been set in New York and were brought to the coast along with the mechanical means of printing. This was but one instance of the long-fingered news dominance of New York, by steamer and overland express, which merely awaited completion of the transcontinental telegraph in 1861, to have the western press begin its own selecting of what items on domestic and foreign affairs it would print.

After the appearance of the *California Star* on the San Francisco horizon, consolidation of interests took place, the *Californian* of Monterey being combined with the *Star*, followed by a reshuffling into the *Alta California* on January 4, 1849. Kemble's name continued to be connected with newspaper affairs in San Francisco and Sacramento for more than a decade, part of his role in newspaper history being the prominence he gave, when editor of the *Alta California*, to the birth and death of western newspapers, a lengthy roster—and a natural one, because the rapid growth of the state and the tendency to identify a branch of the press with each new phase, could not but show some failures. The respective fortunes of these journals thus served as landmarks of social and political pitfalls within the state. To prolixity in the American press was added the exuberant growth of foreign newspapers (French, Italian, German, Chinese, Spanish, etc.), and those

dedicated to special interests, such as mining, agriculture and commerce, which made the newspaper field in California, then and later, as open and varied as was nature herself along the stretch of the frontier.

Directly after the end of the Civil War, two papers emerged with which all of us are familiar, the San Francisco *Examiner* and the San Francisco *Chronicle*. It is Mr. Van Sooy's opinion that these two papers, and the other news organizations which now occupy the western arena of journalism, do it with honesty of conviction and abstention from truckling. In other words, the boisterous roll of the Pacific on our shores has not muffled too much the pulse beats of civic conscience, and the warning cries of newspaper editors are just as well directed as when James King of the *Bulletin* exposed what he considered nauseous in the turbulent days of 1856 and paid for it with his life. As for the mechanical part of early California journalism: after Zamorano's press had rendered professional service in Monterey, San Francisco, Sacramento (Kemble's *Placer Times*), Stockton, Sonora, and finally in Columbia, it was burned—the frame, platen, ribs, and part of the bed were of wood—by town toughs in Columbia the night of November 13, 1851, a martyr, too, to vandalism within the body politic.

After the annual business meeting of the Society on Friday, January 31, 1947, Edgar Eugene Robinson, Byrne Professor of American History at Stanford University, addressed the members and their guests on "Adventures in Manuscript Collecting"; and at the February luncheon meeting Dr. George P. Hammond described the resources and problems of the Bancroft Library. Both meetings were crowded and enthusiastic—a sign that the members of societies such as this are conscious of their obligation to the collectors of original source material.

By way of introduction, Professor Robinson said that up to 1912, historians and the public alike showed a preference for materials bearing on the state's early history, including its economic and social life; but since that date, as a result of the introduction of new political standards to the public conscience, interest had been focussing on the need for more letters, memoirs, and the like relating to the political side of California history. Certain gifts have made it possible for the Stanford University Library to build up a collection concerned with this subject, Professor Robinson citing as a case in point the Borel Fund, which provides likewise for publication of manuscripts.

A word regarding this fund may be inserted here. The name of Alfred Borel, a Swiss, is first listed in the San Francisco directories in 1856 as a merchant. He was joined by his brother, Antoine, later the consul for Switzerland, and from 1866 the name Alfred Borel & Co. (Antoine Borel), bankers, appears as such and subsequently as capitalists until 1898, when it was changed to Antoine Borel & Co. (J. Henry Meyer), Alfred Borel's residence being given as Switzerland. During 1915-16, after the death of Antoine Borel

and the settlement of his estate, Mr. Meyer, we are informed by the family, gave the Borel Fund to Stanford University in honor of his partner.

Stanford University's acquisition of Stephen Mallory White's papers was mentioned by Professor Robinson as an example of the political treasures in the collection. White was a native of California (January 19, 1853), who at thirty became district attorney of Los Angeles County. He was chosen state senator in 1886, and in 1893 U. S. senator, when his services in connection with locating the harbor (breakwater) for Los Angeles at San Pedro, instead of at Santa Monica, brought him especially into prominence. But it was a laborious life, and his death at 48 years of age was ascribed by his secretary to "work, unceasing work," in which the latter shared, as may be seen, the speaker said, by the remarkable order in which White's papers (over 100 volumes, including letters from W. J. Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, Boise Penrose, Theodore Roosevelt, etc.), have come down to us. (Reference was made here to Edith Dobie's *Political Career of Stephen Mallory White: a Study of Party Activities under the Convention System*, Stanford University, 1927.)

The diary of Levi Stowell, 1848-49, is part of the Stanford collection and will be published in due course. Stowell entered politics (California Assembly in 1849) and was, besides, a prominent Mason. Also in the collection is Milton S. Latham's journal, which was published with an introduction and notes by Professor Robinson in this *QUARTERLY*, XI, March 1932, 3 ff. It will be remembered that two days after Latham's inauguration as governor of California in January 1860, the legislature elected him U. S. senator, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Broderick. The correspondence of U. S. Senator John D. Works, together with copies of his speeches, 1914-16, is at Stanford; also Meyer Lissner's papers (some 40,000 items), containing his correspondence with members of the Progressive Republican Party on the subject of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League and the Progressive movement in California, 1903-21. A future publication on this subject will be Alice Rose's *Origins of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League*.

An instance of the unexpected in manuscript collecting was the acquisition by Stanford of the original of John R. Bell's "Journey to the Rocky Mountains in 1820," which was modestly left on Professor Robinson's desk by an anonymous student. In closing, the speaker made an appeal to all those who are interested in having the "whole story" told in regard to the past, to be vigilant in reporting to accredited depositories the possible location of important source material.

As was mentioned above, George P. Hammond spoke at the luncheon meeting on February 13, 1947, on the subject to which he has recently given his talents as director: "The Bancroft Library; its resources, its problems." Dr. Hammond gave first a resume of Hubert H. Bancroft's life, which began in 1832 as one of the sons born to Massachusetts Puritan stock on a

small farm near Granville, Ohio; next he shifted the scene, as Bancroft did, from Ohio to Buffalo and the environment of books in his brother-in-law's, G. H. Derby's, bookstore; thence across the continent via the Isthmus to San Francisco, and finally to a rendezvous with his father, Azariah Ashley Bancroft, and his eldest brother, Curtis, in the diggings at Long Bar, California.

It was the desire of the Oregon relative for reading material that prompted Derby to send a shipment of books west in 1852 in charge of young Hubert, just out of his teens, and which touched off the youth's aptitude for that line of business, as it developed under his name and genius in San Francisco. Some seven years later, while arranging 50 to 75 volumes on California for the convenient use of William H. Knight, editor of H. H. Bancroft & Co.'s *Pacific Coast Handbook*, Bancroft got the idea of building up a large collection of material on the history of the state. As his business prospered he made trips back and forth to and from the East and eventually to England and the continent, spurred by the passion of collecting. Dr. Hammond referred his hearers to John W. Caughey's excellent study, *Hubert Howe Bancroft* (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1946), for the pleasure of details, and to Bancroft's own *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890).

It is interesting to note that in December 1856, when the firm of H. H. Bancroft & Co., SW cor. Montgomery and Merchant streets, first appeared in the San Francisco *Directory*, the writer of the volume's introductory sketch reported that in the preceding year 197 persons had applied to the courts for benefit of the insolvency act, owing to the business depression the city was experiencing. For a youth trained as Bancroft was in the severe school of frugality, this situation did not seem discouraging, especially when members of his family, such as his sister, Mrs. Derby, showed reliance on his abilities. A glance at the early directories reveals to what an extent Bancroft's gifted family contributed their energies to the amassing of his fortune: his brother, Albert L., in the stationery end of the business; his nephew, Will B., in the printing department; his other nephews, Harlow P., George H., and Charles E., in the schoolbook and supply division. Charles also supervised the music department with its pianos, organs, and a circulating library of 100,000 pieces of sheet music; and it was Albert who, after destruction of the "Bancroft's Building" by fire in 1886, merged their law-book interests with Sumner Whitney's firm, to form the well-known Bancroft-Whitney Company, operating today.

Though the initial appearance of the name, H. H. Bancroft & Co., in the San Francisco *Directory*, referred to above, gives "stationers" as the business category, the importance of this line in the company's success is sometimes forgotten. The bookish side gets more attention, but the dependence of both is similar. The demand for stationery in a community is indication of its literacy—it desires to write letters, to use orderly forms—and as such can

be compared to the presence of book-selling houses, which Bancroft himself said were significant of the intelligence of the people. Once, as a decorative stationery gesture, the firm introduced the "Bancroft Extra Quality Gold Pen" to the market.

His fortune made, Dr. Hammond described picturesquely the enlargement of Bancroft's mental grasp while he was adding to his collection in England and Europe. He saw how deep his researches would have to go, and accordingly searched the files of the British Museum and other depositories for items of peculiar value, and engaged assistants to copy them. One is reminded of similar methods employed by an earlier famous historian of the same surname, George Bancroft, who, in preparation for his *History of the United States*, brought together at enormous pains and expense authenticated copies of archives, family papers, and personal journals, and whose collection is now a treasured possession of the New York Public Library.

It was not simply California by itself that interested Bancroft. It was California as a key point in the whole Pacific West, whose "roots were deeply imbedded in Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and Spain itself as well as in the English colonies and the mother land"; and it was this larger vision, said Dr. Hammond, that characterized Bancroft, his collection and his histories. Late in 1868, at a time when he was feeling rather satisfied with his material, he heard of the proposed sale of José María Andrade's collection at Leipzig. Immediately he opened his purse to the irresistible offerings of Mexicana and Central Americana mentioned in the catalogue, and through his agent, J. Whitaker of London, he acquired some three thousand items. This was succeeded by purchases at the sales of such libraries as Father Fischer's, E. G. Squier's, and José Fernando Ramírez's.

Dr. Hammond pointed out that the core of value in Bancroft's library is its manuscript and newspaper material, which can never be duplicated because of the opportune time in which the collector did his work. The winning of Gen. Mariano G. Vallejo to his side was a triumph for Bancroft, for it meant that the defeated Spanish Californians had abandoned the idea that no "gringo" could do them justice in writing a history of their land. The speaker entertained his listeners with an account of Enrique Cerruti's careful maneuvering to convince the general of the soundness of Bancroft's undertaking, and which included a tour of the Bancroft building's "Fifth Floor," where the copyists were at work; with the result that, in time, Vallejo gave his papers to Bancroft and spent two years (1874 and '75) with Cerruti in dictating his reminiscences ("Historia de California"), especially valuable for the period 1815-45. Then followed the winning over of Juan B. Alvarado, the securing of the Manuel Castro collection, the W. E. P. Hartnell documents through his widow who was María Teresa de la Guerra, Thomas O. Larkin's official correspondence, and other invaluable records, such as the copies and abstracts of the *Archives of California*.

Dr. Hammond then described the acquisition of the library, "this cornerstone of reference on western American and Latin American history," in 1905 by the state university, through the efforts of Pres. Benjamin I. Wheeler, Prof. Henry Morse Stephens and others, and the pleasure of Bancroft in the guarantee of its preservation; also the part played by Professor Stephens in 1911 in bringing Herbert E. Bolton (whose *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* was just being published) to the University of California from Stanford. He spoke of the two annual fellowships of \$1,500 each, provided by the Native Sons of the Golden West, for sending scholars to Europe to copy archives and bring back to the Bancroft Library the fruits of their labors. Now, as the speaker said, an ever increasing stream—"tens of thousands of pages"—of photostatic and microfilm copies of such documents is reaching the Bancroft collection, thus "supplementing the original Bancroft materials in logical and masterly fashion."

Bancroft's collecting virtually ended on April 30, 1886, when he lost his entire business establishment at 721-723 Market Street by fire, just thirty years almost to the day after his youthful opening. No new country, as Dr. Hammond said, had ever had such a collector and such an historian. In the 1880's California was a young country but in its historical sense, thanks to Bancroft, it was old. His collection is now probably ten times as bulky as it was when the attic of California Hall on the university campus first saw its new tenant. In its present location, by the very nature of the material, the physical problem of providing storage and facilities for use grows with each new day. There is now no such organized campaign of collecting as that which characterized the original master, no such expenditure of funds in so short a time, but friends of California history and the university have been generous in giving their collections or in securing money for special purposes. "It is a commonplace," the speaker said, "that the most abundant documents of today become the collector's items of tomorrow." Hence it is necessary to be on the lookout continuously. In the library now are the papers of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915; the records of the Miller and Lux firm, whose operations once extended over the interior valleys of California; Gov. George C. Pardee's collection; the Glenn Ranch papers—and hundreds of other collections. And NEWSPAPERS, that nightmare of the librarian, but a precious treasure chest to the historian.

In 1918 Professor Stephens, in his address at the funeral of Hubert Howe Bancroft held at his late residence, 2898 Jackson Street, in San Francisco, said: "His greatest value was as a collector of writings concerning the Pacific Coast, for the Bancroft collection is the chief historical glory of the university which owns it." Out of his private means, Bancroft had a home built at 1538 Valencia Street in San Francisco especially for his library. With its ever increasing importance it requires such a specially designed home today.

In Memoriam

LAURA BRIDE POWERS

With the death of Mrs. Laura Bride Powers in San Francisco on January 15, 1947, a link with the 1860's has been severed. The early years of California were dear to Mrs. Powers and no one was more interested in refreshing our memories regarding historically important dates and in calling our attention to landmarks worthy of preservation. She had been a member of the California Historical Society from its reorganization in 1922.

Born in Virginia City, Nevada, May 15, 1867, she was the daughter of Michael David Bride, a pioneer of the Comstock Lode in 1859, and Annie Roberts Bride. Her father died suddenly in 1877 and Laura Bride with her mother, sister and brothers came to live with the Roberts family in San Francisco. She attended Rincon Grammar School and after two years at the Girls High was admitted by examination to the San Jose Normal, graduating in 1885 at the age of eighteen. For three years she taught, first near Hollister and then in San Francisco. On February 19, 1889, at St. Patrick's Church in San Francisco, she married William Henry Powers, then associated with the Bancroft Printing Company.

Mrs. Powers was inspired to pursue studies in California history in 1882 at the age of fourteen, when she attended the ceremonies at Carmel Mission during Father Casanova's opening of the grave of Father Serra, for identification of the body. The next year she undertook to write a series of articles on the missions for the *California Illustrated Magazine*. Ten years later her book, *The Story of the Old Missions of California*, gained for her the reputation of being the first writer to acquaint a large number of readers with these historic treasures. In 1907, the book was revised and used as a children's text. *Old Monterey: California's Adobe Capital* appeared in 1934, and was another literary success.

Her interest in the history of the state never lagged. In 1902 she organized the California Historic Landmarks League (whose effort, in coöperation with others, resulted in the acquisition of Sonoma Mission and Fort Ross), and also gave much of her time to furthering plans for the preservation of Mission San Antonio de Padua at Jolon.

Another of Mrs. Powers' interests was the Monterey Historical and Art Association, which she founded in 1931 and on whose board of directors she served until her death. She was curator of the Old Custom House Museum of History in Monterey until 1937; and Monterey's annual "Merienda Festival" was one of her suggestions. As general chairman of the San Francisco Historical Committee she supervised for many years the program commemorating the birthday of the Bay city.

As editor of art, club, and society news, Mrs. Powers served on the staff

of the *Morning Call* from 1902 to 1906. From 1913 to 1925 she was a feature writer for the *Oakland Tribune* and a frequent contributor to the *Monitor* (Catholic). Also attracting her support was the Women's Suffrage League's publication, the *Yellow Ribbon*, later changed to *Western Woman*. The National Council of Catholic Women and the Third Order of St. Francis claimed her as a member and profited by association with her keen generous mind.

Mrs. Powers' boundless energy and her singlemindedness in appealing to the conscience of civic and state authorities regarding what she considered true and righteous lines of action, will be missed in San Francisco. She is survived by her daughter, Mrs. George Adrian Applegarth, with whom she had lived for the past ten years. Four grandchildren and one great-grandchild also survive her.

EDGAR M. KAHN

EVERETT J. BROWN

On January 13, 1947, Everett J. Brown, lawyer and former judge of Alameda County, died at his home in Piedmont, California. He had been a member of this Society for the past ten years.

The orient figured twice in the vital statistics of Judge Brown's family. He himself was a native of Yokohama, December 14, 1876; his father, John W. Brown, who was in the shipping business, died in Japan five years later. Judge Brown's mother, Mathilda Delger Brown, was the daughter of Frederick Delger, one of the original directors of the First National Gold Bank of Oakland, founded in 1875, and owner of the property extending along Telegraph Avenue between 19th and 20th streets in Oakland, where Mr. and Mrs. Delger made their home.

Their grandson, Everett J. Brown, graduated from the University of California in 1898 and from Hastings College of the Law in 1901. The annals of inter-collegiate athletics while he and his brother David, a Stanford student, were in attendance, are full of their exploits. After graduation he continued an active interest in the affairs of the University of California and was chosen president of the alumni for the years 1928-29 and thus became one of the regents ex-officio.

Upon being admitted to the California bar in 1901, he entered the law office of Hon. Victor H. Metcalf, later Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1904-06) and Secretary of the Navy (1906-08) in President Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet. In 1903 Judge Brown was made deputy to District Attorney John J. Allen, now a judge of the Superior Court for Alameda County; and in 1908, when only thirty-one years old, he succeeded Judge Allen as district attorney. In this capacity he was legal advisor to the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County, and his opinions on points of law were characterized by his contemporaries as exceptionally lucid and easy of com-

prehension by members of the Board. Political expediency was said to carry no weight, nor did he hesitate, while in office, to decry what he considered extravagant in the county government or neglect of duty on the part of county officials.

In 1908 Everett J. Brown was appointed by Gov. J. N. Gillett judge of the Superior Court for the County of Alameda, and served by election and reëlection until 1920 when he retired to enter private practice, in which he continued until March 1, 1946. At that time his son, Everett J. Brown, Jr., who had practiced law with his father from 1936 until outbreak of the war in December 1941, returned from active duty as lieutenant commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve, and entered the firm as a partner.

During his private practice Judge Brown was associated at various times with Superior Court Judge Chas. E. Snook, Thomas J. Ledwich, John B. Rosson, and Kenneth C. Gillis. The members of the present firm of Brown, Rosson and Berry are John B. Rosson, Samuel H. Berry, and Everett J. Brown, Jr.

Since 1937 Judge Brown was a director of the Central Bank, Oakland, and a member of its executive committee. His son Everett has been elected to succeed him as a director.

Judge Brown is survived by his wife, Winifred Osborne Brown, whom he married June 28, 1905; his son, Everett J.; and two daughters, Winifred (Mrs. Harmon Chase Bell), and Jean (Mrs. Cameron Wolfe). Judge Brown's sister, Annie Florence Brown, who died in 1944, will be remembered as a woman of notable public spirit, having been the founder of the Oakland Forum, the Alameda County Tuberculosis Association, and the Public Health Center of Alameda County.

WALTER A. STARR

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
Miss Christine Donohoe	Menlo Park	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Willard W. Keith	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Frank R. Scaver	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Loyd Wright	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. Albert K. Andross	Yuba City	Robert I. Hodgins, M.D.
Mrs. William B. Baldwin	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Donald P. Bean	Stanford University	Transfer of S. M. Croon- quist's membership
C. Bertrand Thompson	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Anna Voorhies Bishop	San Francisco	Miss Edith Slack
Stuart Morton Boland	San Francisco	Mrs. Ursula R. Fent
Leslie Boyette	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mackenzie Brown	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Oscar Cooper	New York City	Miss Ethel Cooper
Cornell University Library	Ithaca, N. Y.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Evelyn Curro	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
D. T. Davis	Napa	Hensley S. Davis
Hensley S. Davis	Napa	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Frances Elkins	Monterey	Membership Committee
H. G. Fenton	San Diego	Allen L. Chickering
Jacob L. Freed	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Daniel G. Grant, Jr.	Los Angeles	Warren R. Howell
Allen Griffin	Pebble Beach	Paul P. Parker and Aubrey Neasham
John F. Harley, Jr.	Carmel	A. S. Macdonald
F. Hal Higgins	Oakland	Membership Committee
Historical Society of Montana	Helena	Warren R. Howell
Miss Marian O. Hooker	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Hon. Herbert C. Jones	San Jose	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Miss Florence R. Keene	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. Emma Kessler	Berkeley	R. H. Cross
Dana Latham	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Charles O. Martin	San Francisco	Membership Committee
A. M. Nash	Sacramento	Membership Committee
Harold R. Ohleyer	Orinda	Membership Committee
Mrs. Nell Wold Ordway	Oakland	William G. Paden
Mrs. Lester E. Oyler	Huntington Park	Membership Committee
Mrs. Seabury Peterson	Palo Alto	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Warren H. Pillsbury	Piedmont	Membership Committee
Norman F. Schwilk	Sacramento	J. Roy Jones, M.D.
Samuel Scott Smith	Sacramento	Membership Committee
G. N. Somerville	Berkeley	Walter L. Huber
Mrs. William Sproule	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Charles A. Strong	San Francisco	C. W. Skaggs and Otis R. Johnson
Mrs. William Unmack	San Francisco	Mrs. G. D. de Balaine
Dr. Ezra A. Van Nuys	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Rev. John R. Winkley	Albany	Membership Committee
Warren Wright	Carmel	A. S. Macdonald

Marginalia

Maj. Fred B. Rogers, whose article, "Early Military Posts, Del Norte County, California," appears in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*, will be remembered as the author of *Soldiers of the Overland* (San Francisco, 1938), and as the speaker on the same subject at the luncheon meeting of the Society on August 22, 1939. Returning to the retired list after additional army service in World War II, during which he attained the temporary rank of colonel, Major Roberts is again engaged in research on the early military posts of northern California. He states that his more immediate interest is in the Mendocino County posts, Camp Wright in Round Valley, Fort Bragg, and Fort Weller on the headwaters of Russian River about fifty miles from Cloverdale. He will be glad to hear of the location of any uncommon material on those subjects.

The author of "Welcome to the Czar's Fleet," Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, is a descendant of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, pioneer colonizer of Newfoundland in 1583. His grandfather, Hammond Barnes Gilbert, attracted by the gold discovery, came to California first in 1854 by way of the Horn and again in 1856 via the Isthmus. Upon the general lessening of interest in mining in California in the middle 1860's, he moved to Colorado where he made his home. Benjamin F. Gilbert is a native of San Francisco and a graduate of the San Francisco Junior College, and of the University of California with the class of 1939. He served aboard the U. S. S. *Tonawanda* (AN-89) in World War II—the second ship of that name, the first being a Civil War monitor. At present Mr. Gilbert is teacher of history at the Bates School in San Francisco, continuing at the same time his studies for the Ph.D. His collection of Americana and Californiana, he tells us, has now reached over a thousand volumes. In June 1941, the *QUARTERLY* published his "The Confederate Minority in California."

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Mrs. Albert Knight Andross is the daughter of Dr. David Powell, who came to California from Wales in 1855. For the past twenty-five years Mrs. Andross has made her home near Hock Farm, on a portion of the Sutter New Helvetia grant.

Mrs. Anna Voorhies Bishop is the daughter of a Tennessean, Alfred Hunter Voorhies, who had just graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania when he joined the Confederate Army. Mrs. Bishop was brought to San Francisco as a child, and has since made her home there.

Stuart Morton Boland writes that it will be "wonderful to see first-hand the original Californiana on many historical events which I have used in Radio and Cinema writing," when he pays the Society "a bibliophilical visit."

Miss Pearl Chase, listed among the new members in the September issue

of the QUARTERLY, became interested in California and its history by two years' work under Prof. Henry Morse Stephens, beloved of all California alumni for several decades. Miss Chase for the past ten years has devoted her time and energies to her work as president of the California Conservation Council.

Oscar Cooper is a brother of Miss Ethel Cooper, who became a member of the Society in April of 1942. An interesting sketch of the life of their father, James A. Cooper, is given in the Marginalia section of the June issue of that year.

The name of Mrs. Frances Elkins will be familiar to many members, who knew her while she made her home in San Francisco, but probably few are aware that Mrs. Elkins was largely responsible for the decorative scheme of the centennial celebration held in Monterey in July of last year.

The interest of H. G. Fenton in California history stems from the fact that his property in San Diego County surrounds the site of the Battle of San Pascual fought one hundred years ago and currently described in the QUARTERLY by Arthur Woodward.

Daniel G. Grant, Jr., entered the livestock business following four years' service in the Marine Corps during the last war. His avocation: to aid in building a *true* picture of California's past.

Col. Allen Griffin, founder and publisher of the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, commanded the 13th Infantry Regiment, 8th Division, U.S.A., in World War II. He is president of the Monterey Foundation, and raised the fund for the community's half to match state funds for the purchase of the Custom House at Monterey.

Librarians and research assistants throughout California are well acquainted with F. Hal Higgins, who has long been omniverous—and productive—in his studies on the history of agricultural implement makers, dealers, and users in the state.

William H. Hoburg, listed in the December 1946 QUARTERLY, is the grandson of William Helmer Hoburg, who arrived in San Francisco from Baltimore by way of Panama on October 30, 1849, and who, shortly after his arrival, entered into a general merchandising business with Messrs. Bennett and Kirby on Clay Street.

Dana Latham came to California twenty years ago as a special attorney in connection with federal tax matters for the eleven western states and the Hawaiian Islands. Two years later he resigned to enter private practice, and has since made his home in this state. His interest in its historical background is evidenced by his membership in the Friends of the Huntington Library, and now, in this Society.

Harold R. Ohleyer has generously deposited with the Society two scrap-

books made by his grandfather, George Ohleyer, for many years editor of the *Sutter County Farmer*, and who spent much of his life waging the battle for anti-debris legislation.

One hundred years ago William Hamel, grandfather of Mrs. William Unmack, was fighting in California during the stirring days of the conquest. Five years later Mrs. Unmack's mother was born in Monterey, where she, also, was born.

Dr. Ezra Van Nuys, now in his twenty-fifth year as pastor of the historic Calvary Presbyterian Church which is nearing its centenary, has seen the church grow from a membership of 555 to more than 2,000.

The Reverend J. W. Winkley has, in his work as pastor in the Methodist Church, seen service during the past thirty-eight years in the old mining towns of Auburn, Ione, Placerville, Nevada City, Marysville and other contiguous valley towns and has become familiar with many others. He has written much on gold days in this state.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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The California Centennials

1948, 1949, 1950

By ANSON STILES BLAKE

THE question may be asked in some quarters, "What are Californians celebrating that justifies observances running through three years?"—which may be answered in part by the simple statement that California is a large state, with many communities which will wish to honor the events that occurred in their particular localities. Many of these dates will indeed be worthy of note. From the days of the Franciscans, Californians have rejoiced in participating in public observances; they have responded to an instinctive urge. But in this instance it has been a question of creating a deliberate program, with great attention to detail, for submission to the people. As the preamble to a recent report says: "The intangible value would be the creation of pride in the State through an intimate knowledge of our pioneer history and its relationship to our State's present greatness, and the building up of tradition . . . the education of youth, representing our future leadership, of our two million or more newly acquired citizens plus the hundreds of thousands of formerly adopted citizens."

If history is to be the background of the celebrations, let us review briefly what happened here from 1848 through 1850, in order to appraise its relative importance. To do it, we should also have in mind another part of that background, namely, the condition of the United States at the outbreak of the Mexican War.

The census of 1840 gave the population of the country as 17,069,454; that of 1850, 23,191,876, the growth in the second half of the decade 1840-50 being larger than in the first half. The great immigration from Europe can be said to have begun in 1846. Potato rot, the year before, beset Ireland, and the resulting famine and disease drove many to emigrate. The severe winter of 1845-46 in Northern Europe, and crop failures the next year, started a large migration from those regions which was further stimulated by the political upheavals of 1848. The total immigration from 1841 to 1845 was 430,336; that from 1846 to 1850 was 1,222,939. We can, on this score alone, safely say that the population of the United States at the beginning of the Mexican War was somewhat less than 20,000,000. This population was fairly dense in the New England and Middle States. Westward it followed the rivers which were the lines of communication. Railroads had hardly become a factor: the census of 1840 notes 2,818 miles; that of 1850, 9,021. Again, the second half of the decade was a much more active era of construction than the first. The successful introduction of the McCormick reaper in 1845 was a potent factor in pushing the railroads out into the

broad fertile areas away from the rivers, as well as starting a large enough production of hard grains to create a surplus for export. Industrially the country was by no means self supporting.

At the time of the first congress, when Hamilton, as secretary of the treasury, made his report on manufactures, there was nothing but domestic or cottage manufacturing except ship-building, naval stores and fisheries. The war of 1812 brought some iron-smelting, the manufacture of firearms and gunpowder, and the beginnings of agricultural implements. The tariff of 1816 took New England textiles out of the household into the industrial class as an industry. The introduction of the steamboat gave an impetus to the iron smelting and foundry industries and to machine shops.

By 1846 all of these pursuits had become somewhat industrialized and supplied a substantial portion of the needs of the country. Of course, by that time, the growth of cities had developed the food processing industries to considerable proportions, and the cruder hardware and pottery products were also available. However, our exports were still principally dried fish, naval stores, cotton and tobacco.

The economic life of the country had been seriously impaired for the decade preceding 1846, first by the series of events following the refusal to extend the charter of the Bank of the United States. It is too long a story to do more than mention. The state bank boom, with the wild era of speculation that followed the inflation of their note issues, was succeeded by the crash of 1837. The country was left with no stable circulating medium. Secondly, all the western states and some others had gone into debt for internal improvements. New York's Erie Canal was highly successful. Many states embarked on canal building, railroad building and other capital expenditures. With the bank collapse, state after state defaulted in interest payments, including Pennsylvania and Maryland. Mississippi and the Territory of Florida repudiated their debts *in toto*. During the five years prior to its repeal, 34,000 debtors had taken advantage of the bankruptcy law and had been relieved of \$440,000,000 worth of debts by surrendering property valued at \$44,000,000. In these years the income of the United States government had not reached \$40,000,000 per annum.

In 1845 the tide began to turn. Next year the war brought activity to American farmers and manufacturers, who were paid promptly as the government of the United States had not been involved in the financial difficulties of the states. The Oregon question was settled in 1846, leaving the administration a free hand to prosecute the war. Consequently the two years of the war saw a recovery of American industry and renewed interest in railroad development that absorbed the increased immigration readily. The war with Mexico was officially ended by the treaty signed February 2, 1848, and ratified by our Senate March 10. Meantime, on January 24, 1848, gold was discovered in the tailrace of Sutter's Mill at Coloma.

In view of its consequences, this event can very properly be celebrated.

Seldom in the history of the world can we find such a sequence of events traceable directly to a single simple event. Sutter's efforts to keep the discovery secret were successful long enough to prevent the promotion edition of the *California Star* of April 1, 1848, which contained a supplement describing California, from publishing more than unconfirmed reports. Two thousand copies of this paper were sent to the states by courier in an effort to stimulate immigration. Shortly thereafter the news got out and by May towns and farms were pretty generally deserted. In July, Governor Mason made an official tour of the mining region. His report started east in August. So slow and irregular were the means of communication that the news did not get to the east coast until October and then was not believed. But when Mason's report reached Washington in November, scepticism was immediately replaced by a wild desire to participate. Meantime in June the news had reached Honolulu, in August Oregon, and during that period, Mexico. All furnished large quotas of gold seekers. As winter set in mining operations were curtailed and a large proportion of the miners returned to town or to their farms. The old-time inhabitants like Reading, Bidwell and Weber, and many of the Oregonians who had been quite successful in their mining operations, realized that the next year's immigration would be much larger, that the output of the mines would be great, and that the new inhabitants would have many needs in the way of food and transportation and would have the cash to pay for them. Weber went back to his ranch and laid out the city of Stockton, realizing that the southern miners needed a point of departure similar to Sacramento where the necessities of the population could be supplied. He started a store and a landing and offered his lots for sale. To his great credit it should be said that he deeded to his city the entire waterfront within its limits. Reading and Bidwell speeded up the breeding and breaking of draft animals and pack animals to meet transportation needs and prepared to help feed the newcomers from their herds of cattle. The Oregonians hastened back to get more land into shape for a wheat crop that was to furnish flour to a much larger population than they had dreamed of in previous years. I cite these cases not because they were unique but because they were typical. The early pioneers of the western slope, who had been here long enough to know the country, deserve great credit for their foresight and understanding, as well as for their energy and resourcefulness. They not only made the conditions of life for the incoming '49ers more tolerable, but they furnished the foci from which the energies of the community could be directed. The services of this group of men in the rapid creation of a stable commonwealth have never been adequately recognized.

The year of 1848 had been one of exploration and had served to demonstrate that the gold-bearing area was of very great extent and undoubted richness. About \$2,000,000 in gold dust had passed through the custom

house. But no striking events of statewide importance marked the rest of the year of discovery, and it is hard to pick local events to celebrate except perhaps the founding of Stockton and Marysville.

The year 1849 is noteworthy for the arrival of American immigration in California. Overland immigration in 1848 was quite small. Oregon was sparsely settled and immigration from there in 1848, although a large percentage of its population, was small in numbers and, as has been mentioned, a sizable proportion returned that year. The 1849 influx of Americans can be said to have begun on February 28 with the arrival of the *California*, first Pacific Mail Company steamer to reach the Bay of San Francisco. On March 31 the *Oregon* came in. Both steamers had taken on far more passengers than the legal limit. I quote from John S. Hittell's *History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1878, pp. 139-40) the following, as the best brief summary of the year's immigration:

The average duration of the voyages made under sail from the American Atlantic ports was about five months, many of the ships sent out being old tubs which had been built with more regard for solidity than speed, and not a few of them so old that they would never have made another voyage but for the extraordinary demand of the gold excitement. In April two vessels arrived from the Atlantic, having started in November; in May only one came; in June, eleven; in July, forty; in August, forty-three; in September, sixty-six; in October, twenty-eight; in November, twenty-three; and in December, nineteen, a total of two hundred and thirty-three in nine months. In addition to these, three hundred and sixteen vessels arrived in that period from other ports, making a total of five hundred and forty-nine arrivals, and an average of two vessels a day. The passengers of the year arriving by sea numbered thirty-five thousand, including twenty-three thousand Americans. Besides these passengers, three thousand sailors deserted their ships, and in the beginning of August two hundred square-rigged vessels were lying in the bay unable to get sailors. The number of immigrants who arrived overland in the course of the year was estimated to be forty-two thousand, including thirty-three thousand Americans. The large proportion of Americans secured their predominance in the mines where previously the aliens, mostly Spanish-Americans, had a majority. At the close of the year it was estimated that the population of California numbered one hundred thousand souls.

The overland immigrants had to wait at the Missouri River until April before feed for their animals was sufficiently advanced on the prairies. A few left by southern routes through Mexico, at earlier dates, but the increased distance by this circuitous route made the average time of travel longer. The earliest overland travelers arrived at the mines in July and the largest numbers in September and October. Many did not get in until December, when snow and rain had shut down much of the mining activity and was greatly hampering transportation to the mines.

As these new arrivals knew nothing of the country to which they had come, and almost as little of the methods and technique of the occupation in which they were to engage, it is easy to see that the effective mining of the year was done largely by the arrivals of the previous year. And yet the bullion shipments for 1849 reached \$10,000,000, at the lowest estimate.

The known placer districts were extended both north and south, and certain apparent vagaries of gold distribution began to be understood. Meantime, however, an event of statewide significance had occurred. After congress had adjourned without providing any form of government for California, and after two abortive efforts of citizens had come to naught, the military governor, Gen. Bennett Riley, issued a proclamation calling a constitutional convention to meet at Monterey on September 1st. Delegates were chosen and met at Monterey. It was a remarkable body and did a good and a quick job. Moreover, it was highly representative, containing a fair representation of Spanish-American citizens and a number of the very early American residents, as well as of the newcomers. In six weeks a constitution was presented, prohibiting slavery, providing that all property should be taxed according to its value, denying the legislature power to set up corporations by special act or to charter banks, and leaving to legislative enactment the creation of local government and a code of laws. The debates in the convention covered a good deal of ground but the decisions were almost unanimous except as to the eastern boundary of the state. The lines were fixed as they are today; no one, however, knew where they were, on the ground, until the 1860's when questions of jurisdiction with Nevada became troublesome.

The convention decided for itself that the people had the right to form a constitution without the intermediation of congress or of a territorial government, and that the coast from Oregon to Mexico should be one state. These determinations as well as the prohibition of slavery were the subject of much debate in congress but eventually were all accepted. As the need for government was great, a full ticket of elective officers under the constitution was placed before the people at the election on November 13, when the constitution was submitted. The vote for the constitution was overwhelming. A full complement of state officers and two congressmen were elected, although the constitution had not yet even been offered to congress and the population only justified one congressman. Governor Riley, in December, relinquished his office and by order transferred the administration of civil affairs to the newly elected officers, who had been inducted into office five days earlier. The first legislature assembled in San Jose in December and proceeded with establishment of the minor jurisdictions and the creation of the fiscal system.

The material achievements of moment for the year 1849 were the building of a long wharf along the line of what is today Commercial Street in San Francisco, so that vessels could discharge into drays instead of lighters, and the establishment of steam navigation daily to Sacramento.

As we look over these events, the adoption of the constitution certainly justifies a statewide celebration which should be held in Monterey, where the convention of 1849 deliberated, as a center. If the citizens of Monterey show as much enthusiasm and energy as they did in seeing that the custom

house became a state monument, the celebration of the constitutional centennial will be a heart-warming event for any Californian to attend. For newcomers and visitors, it will give a glimpse of a pioneer California settlement preserving a flavor of the past, largely because there has been a degree of continuous residence which is rare in California, also because the inhabitants have taken pride in their past and in preserving much of the little capital of 100 years ago. Fortunately for this purpose, Monterey was not overwhelmed by the torrent of population that has swarmed over the state. It may also be noted that a number of the newer inhabitants are people of wealth, who have interested themselves in efforts to preserve the buildings and atmosphere of the city.

San Francisco can well afford to celebrate the arrival of the first steamer. It was the inauguration of an expanding industry that today embraces most of the world. The passengers on that historic trip organized the "First Steamship Pioneers" and celebrated the 25th anniversary of their arrival in a big way. The *California* herself was hostess for the occasion and a good picture of her, loaded down with a half cargo of bunting, is extant. The pioneers did not stop with the day's celebration but got out an expensive, well-edited book giving a brief account of the Pacific Mail Company, a full description of the ship, the full text of the surgeon's diary of the voyage to California, and a brief statement concerning the activities of each passenger for the past 25 years.

San Francisco might make Long Wharf the text for her annual Harbor Day Celebration. She can hardly celebrate the establishment of steam navigation on the rivers, as the last of the river boats has just been towed to New Orleans for use on the Mississippi. Thus an era of great importance in the economic life of the state closes after nearly 100 years.

As we look over the state for other causes of local celebration, I can only think of the founding of numerous mining towns, some still well populated and others grading down through dilapidation to complete extinction. These may or may not furnish a field for local celebrations. The risk of sameness in subject matter casts a shadow over this approach to a continuing show.

There is little in the miner's life of 1849 to celebrate in its revival. The contemporary accounts tell a story of toil, sickness, poor food, uncertainties as to many aspects of nature, almost total failure of efforts to obtain letters sent by eastern relatives and friends. Scurvy, dysentery and cholera took a terrible toll. The sheer toil of the life under the broiling sun of summer and autumn prostrated many others. And yet if you read the reminiscent books of the survivors of that era, or listened, as I did as a youngster, to these same men yarn about their experiences, the whole atmosphere is one of adventure, of humorous incident, of good natured self-abuse for not picking the opportunities that presented themselves to all, but were so often

abandoned for some rainbow-chasing adventure. Self pity, keen regret or sullenness seldom entered these recitals. They were the good old days, "The days of old, the days of gold, the days of forty-nine."

If anything is to be celebrated as a centennial of 1849 mining life, nothing deserves it more than the spirit of the American youth of that generation. But their life of that year was nothing to make into pageantry. In the aggregate, their efforts produced a great deal of wealth by which the state of California benefitted greatly. No fortunes were made by individuals. Many took out modest sums and some of these went home to families in the east. Others turned to new mining fields or to building ferries with the proceeds, or started trading posts or went into the transportation of goods. But here again there are few elements of the dramatic or picturesque. The great risk, it seems to me, of attempting to portray this era is that an effort will be made to pattern after the so-called '49 shows, which crop up from time to time. These reflect a more sophisticated era of a few years later. By then, some of the mining towns had become places of somewhat permanent abode. When this stage was attained, they afforded shelter to the professional gambler, the prostitute and other leeches on society such as that class must have. That class did not share the tents and brush shelters in which the miners lived in the summer of '49, nor the somewhat more stable log cabins in which some of the miners wintered. In that year the gambler class frequented only towns like San Francisco, Sacramento and the steamers on the river, content to prey on the miners coming to town. It was from that later era in the middle 1850's that Bret Harte drew his characters, and he depicted its scenes. It was then that stage hold-ups began and fancy bars and gambling houses crept into these towns. At these places occurred the riotous celebrations which furnished the background for the shows to which I refer.

Perhaps a safer approach to the celebrations for the mining regions would be for the counties rather than the towns to stage the shows. Tuolumne County has already entered the lists, with the old mining town of Columbia, about to become a state monument, as the hub. It is a placer mining town left to one side in an era of quartz mining; therefore it has not had extraneous building nor any change in character since the late 1850's. It and Weaverville are the least altered by time of all the old camps. Nevada County could put on quite a different exhibit centered on the quartz mines, still in continuous operation after nearly 100 years. Downieville, Auburn, Placerville, San Andreas, Jackson and Mariposa might each contribute something worth while.

When we move on to 1850 we find an anomalous situation. The winter of 1849-50 had been extremely heavy. Mining in the upper levels of the mountains had been cut off by snow. In the lower levels the rains had been too violent to allow continuous work, and the rivers had risen so high that

work on the bars was impossible. The miners who stayed in the mountains were brought to the verge of starvation several times, because even pack trains could not get through to the camps for weeks together. Swollen rivers and deep mud rendered teaming almost impossible. The miners who had gone to the towns for the winter paid high for their living and found few jobs seeking men. As a consequence, by the time water in the rivers began to recede and traffic to the mines was resumed, most of the miners were as poor as they had been when they came to California. Notwithstanding their needs and the obvious desirability of buckling down to work at any fairly good diggings, many of them became nomads. They might have cleared a claim and be working after days of preparation in fairly good pay-dirt, when someone, unknown to them, would come by and tell of much richer diggings at some other place. It would be enough to make them drop everything, pack up and head for the new location. There the same process might be repeated or a cursory examination might be enough to start a further migration or a return.

The culmination of this mad parade was the great trek to Gold Lake.* In the summer, a miner came to the valley district and reported that he had been in the mountains above Downieville and had come upon a lake, the shores of which were almost pure gold. A great crowd followed him and more came in their tracks. They found Gold Lake but it was one of the few places in the Sierra where there was no gold. A lynching party was organized to wait on the guide; before he was strung up, however, they decided he was crazy and perhaps they were, too.

Of course, everybody was not involved in this sort of thing and some participants got over it faster than others. The steadier miners during this year began the improvement of their crude tools, worked out labor saving techniques and made the beginnings of sluicing operations. More important, the first ditching operations were undertaken. Early accounts tell of miners carrying their gravel from the higher lying deposits in pails or wheelbarrows to the nearest water. When the water was brought to the gravel and the available labor was turned to washing only, the output of gold was enormously increased. Thus began the steady and rapid development of the American metal mining industry into one of the most technical and scientific of the great branches of production. After ten years of apprenticeship here, California began to send skilled workers and capable superintendents to all parts of the west from British Columbia to Mexico and as far east as the Rocky Mountains. The mining machinery designed and built in San Francisco spread over almost the whole of this area. The ditch systems grew to large proportions. The individual ditches that served the later hydraulic mines became almost of canal size. With the prohibition of hydraulic mining it looked as if the ditches might follow the mining

*Referred to in "Mahlon D. Fairchild, Reminiscences of a Forty-Niner," this *QUARTERLY*, XIII (March 1934), 28.

towns into dilapidation and decay; but shortly the latent power of the swift streams flowing through them was channeled into the powerhouses that began our great hydro-electric power systems.

Turning from the economic life of 1850 to the political, we find that the legislature met on December 15, 1849, at San Jose and worked until April 1850, doing an immense amount of work setting up judicial and other machinery of government, fixing county boundaries, and setting up a code of statute law. Bancroft says it was the best legislature California ever had. Following this session, local government got off to a slow start, for the state and the counties had only prospective revenue on which to do business. The state issued bonds in the sum of \$300,000, at three per cent per month payable in six months, with the proviso that they could be used in payment of state taxes. This shifted the financial burden from the first legislature to the second, so far as the state was concerned, but the counties had no such resource. They could only issue warrants which were soon selling at huge discounts. Under these circumstances, only an undesirable class of employees was obtainable. The early-day record of local government is a sad one.

However, the first session of the legislature might well be commemorated and its background is not without its picturesque side. The representatives of the New El Dorado met in a barnlike two-story structure without interior fittings or furniture. The prospective state had not a pen nor a piece of paper and no resources with which to buy them. The legislators were giving their time and much hard work in the public interest without any tangible means of paying for those services. All were anxious to get back to jobs which, at least in prospect, promised much more than their nominal compensation. Only the supreme confidence of a young community, in itself, and in its future, could have floated off that first bond issue on any terms, for an unfavorable action by congress on the constitution would have nullified the acts of the legislature, including the issuance of the obligations.

As we come toward the end of 1850, there is, of course, an event that is unquestionably worthy of a statewide celebration. After a long and angry debate in congress, the bill admitting the state was passed by the Senate in August and by the House on September 7 and was signed by the President on September 9. The news did not reach San Francisco until October 18. As the *Oregon* steamed into the bay flying all her bunting and signaling the news, the whole town turned out, business was suspended, courts adjourned and everyone joined the crowd in Portsmouth Square to rejoice. The driver of the stage to San Jose carrying the steamer mail shouted the news to the towns on his way. The Sacramento steamer shrieked the news from its whistle to all the landings on the river. As the news spread the same scenes were repeated on a smaller scale in every town and camp.

On October 29 in San Francisco there was a formal celebration. A thirty-first star was added to the flag on the Plaza. The ceremonies opened with a parade which, in proportion to the size of the city, can only be described as prodigious. I wonder if we are as happy and as proud of being citizens of the thirty-first state of the United States of America as our ancestors were. If we are, the centennial of statehood, to be celebrated at Sacramento on September 9, 1950, will be a memorable ceremony.

We have taken a cursory view of the economic condition of the United States as it entered the Mexican War. I have made no reference to the social movements that were beginning or under way, because, during the three years under review in California, they did not exist here. The community was too fluid and unstable for organized effort in these directions. We have taken, also, a glance at the conditions in California during the years covering the period to be celebrated.

This brief review has emphasized to my mind that observances, such as we are planning, are not memorial services for the past. If they are to be vital and inspiring, they must lead the spirit of the past through its changes and growth to a living contact with the thinking and action of today. What we really celebrate is our *hundredth birthday*, not the date of our birth. Quite properly we should pause to review our past. In it we can find many guide posts to the future.

At California's starting date we found the United States just recovering from the economic diseases of childhood and about to be apprenticed to the job of creating the industrial empire she is today. At this juncture we saw the youthful nation assuming the administration of a vast new territory to the southwest, plus that of Oregon, at last her unquestioned domain. In each of these regions the resident population was insignificant in numbers.

Almost immediately, on the outer fringe of this territory, a state began clamoring for admission. It was already made, without any childhood behind it. We are inclined to glorify our state for this, forgetting that most of our inhabitants had been citizens of the United States much longer than of California. Our good fortune was that our population was representative of the whole country. It was further tintured by a large admixture of the hardy youth of most of the civilized countries. It was a real melting pot. One can hope that any representation of California's progress through the past century will have for its background the progress of the United States.

California Gold Discovery

Centennial Papers on the Time, Site, and Artifacts

INTRODUCTION

By JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND

THE site of John A. Sutter's mill at Coloma, on the left bank of the American River, became the property of the State of California through condemnation in 1942. It was in the tailrace of this mill that James W. Marshall discovered gold on January 24, 1848. On the site, consisting of about 9 acres, stands a rock monument which was no part of the original mill but was erected in 1924 by the Society of California Pioneers under the leadership of Philip Baldwin Bekeart with the assistance of Henry Lahiff, then El Dorado County surveyor, and others. This group definitely located the place where Sutter's mill stood. A 9 x 16 foot excavation was made, extending 8 feet below the top of the gravel to bedrock, and valuable relics were discovered, including a hewn log, 12 feet x 6 inches, and a saw, 6 feet 4½ inches long and 5 inches wide. (Sutter's mill was erected before circular saws were in general use.) Other interesting relics were also unearthed, including half a sack of sawdust. The articles were preserved and are in the custody of the Society of California Pioneers in San Francisco.

In 1945, three years after this property—now known as the Gold Discovery Site—came into the possession of the state, the California Park Commission made repairs to the original rock monument. During the work, which included protection of the river bank (located on state property) from erosion, a number of timbers and other relics were found, which are now under cover at Marshall's monument. The work was continued in the dry period of 1946 and additional timbers came into view beneath the low water. A visit to the site with other state officials and an inspection of these under-water timbers convinced the writer of the significance of this find.

The success of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and Dr. Aubrey Neasham, regional historian of the National Park Service, in locating the original site of the flag-staff at the Monterey Custom House,* where Sloat raised the American flag in 1846, suggested that these agencies and individuals be again consulted. Meanwhile private funds were donated for the purpose of defraying expenses.

The results of the investigation were both valuable and sensational. Dr. Neasham, in advance of the actual excavating, had gathered data on the mill with many pictures showing how it appeared at the time of erection and in later years, which were helpful in directing the work of the bull-

*Reported upon in this *QUARTERLY*, XXV (Sept. 1946), 193-218.

dozer. This equipment, furnished by the State Park Commission under the direction of R. S. Coon, district superintendent, unearthed buried sections of the original tailrace of the mill which was traced for approximately 160 feet. It is interesting to note that when the '49 method of panning dirt was used in the excavated tailrace, small particles of gold showed in nearly every instance.

Many curious relics were found, a number of them being directly associated with the mill. The Park Commission plans to erect a museum on the land now under acquisition, where these and other finds will be exhibited and a replica of the original mill constructed.

The reports of Dr. R. F. Heizer, assistant professor of Anthropology, of his assistant, Franklin Fenenga, and of Dr. Neasham, published in the accompanying articles, are extremely interesting and valuable from an historical standpoint. A check of Marshall's original drawings with those by Col. R. B. Mason of the United States Army, following a visit to the site in July 1848, disclosed that Marshall unquestionably picked up the particles of gold in the tailrace about 200 feet from the mill itself and over the boundary line of the property now owned by the State of California.

The state is preparing to acquire this additional property and some acreage across the main highway, paralleling the present holdings, which will include two old stone Chinese store buildings of historical interest. On this property the state contemplates improvements consisting of luncheon tables and other conveniences for the use of the public. The main discovery site on the American River has been improved and automobile parking provided. Also owned and administered by the state are the sites of Marshall's monument and cabin, located on an eminence nearby which overlooks the Gold Discovery Site.

It might be pointed out that the measurements of the timbers in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers and of those held by the state at Marshall's monument, and of the other timbers still under water at Coloma, fall within the same general pattern and agree with Marshall's rough drawing, now in the state library, which shows the dimensions of Sutter's mill to have been 60 x 20 feet.

The California State Park Commission extends its thanks to Dr. Heizer, to Dr. Neasham, and to the rest of the party of scientists and experts who discovered the historic tailrace and gave such clear analyses of the significance of the timbers and other relics.

Sutter's Sawmill

By AUBREY NEASHAM

"this day some kind of mettle was was found in the tail race that that looks like goald."

THUS was first recorded* James W. Marshall's discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, Coloma, California, Monday, January 24, 1848.¹ Hardly less significant than the above entry in the diary of Henry W. Bigler, Mormon worker at the mill site, was the comment of his fellow Mormon and co-worker, Azariah Smith, in his journal on January 30, 1848: "This week, Mr. Marshall found some peace of (as we all suppose) Gold, and he has gone to the Fort for the purpose of finding out,"² a visit which prompted Sutter himself to write in the *New Helvetia Diary*, under date of Friday, January 28: "Mr. Marshall arrived from the Mountains on very important business."³ Unconsciously, the writers of these simple records were setting the stage for the great events that followed.

The story of Marshall's discovery of gold is largely that of the construction in 1847 and 1848 of the sawmill long contemplated by Sutter. Sutter, whose fort at New Helvetia, now within the limits of the City of Sacramento, was situated in a part of California which had begun to feel the impact of an advancing American civilization, recognized the need for more lumber in his building operations. For several years he had envisioned a sawmill in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, which would ensure him a more accessible and less costly supply than the redwood transported up the Sacramento River from San Francisco Bay. Two things were essential in his plan—plenty of sugar pine, and a stream to power the mill and furnish the medium for rafting his lumber down to the fort.⁴

As early as 1843, Sutter's whipsaws and sawpits had been at work on Weber Creek about 40 miles from Sutter's Fort, and the same operations were being carried on in 1845.⁵ Still his requirements were greater than the supplies. Accordingly, he sent out various parties, one of which, composed of Robert Semple and John Bidwell, investigated the Feather River in the vicinity of Cherokee Flat in the early part of 1846. Too little sugar pine and too swift a river discouraged an attempt to erect a sawmill there. The Mexican War put an end to any further activity along this line, but upon cessation of hostilities in 1847 it was revived.⁶

Added to his previous reasons for obtaining a more accessible supply of lumber were the requirements for his grist mill at Natomo, near the mouth of the American River, some four miles from the fort at the present site

* Original spelling and punctuation have been retained in all quotations.

of Brighton; and Marshall, who had been of material aid in locating the latter, now entered into the search for a sawmill site.

Accompanied by W. A. Graves, an individual called Treador, an unnamed Indian boy, and later by a Mr. Gingery, Marshall departed in May of 1847 to explore the region toward the South Fork of the American River.⁷ In a little valley called Culluma (Coloma) by the Indians, about 45 miles from Sutter's Fort, he found a plentiful supply of sugar pine, but any timber cut there would have to be hauled downstream for several miles before it could be rafted. Marshall made several other exploratory trips, on two occasions being joined by Sutter.⁸ Meanwhile shingles, barrel staves, planks, and the frame for the grist mill were cut by hand in the Wapumni Indian country, north of the Cosumnes River.⁹

The site at Coloma was rechecked during a trip made by Marshall, accompanied by Sutter's trusted Indian, Nerio, on July 21-25 of 1847. Still not satisfied, Sutter continued to send out expeditions. One of these may have been the party composed of Messrs. Marshall, William Northgrave, Fred Paulhaus, and Gingery to Butte Creek, which left the fort on August 7, though its purpose was not indicated. Another, composed of Messrs. Lansford Hastings, George McKinstry, Jr., and Buchanan (joined by Gingery), set out for the Feather River on August 17. Hastings' and Marshall's reports could not have been encouraging, for soon after the return of their expeditions on August 21 and 22, Sutter decided to erect his sawmill on the South Fork of the American. On August 27, he signed a contract with Marshall whereby Marshall was to erect and operate the mill, while Sutter was to supply the labor, tools, supplies, and equipment.¹⁰

The Mill Is Begun

Once the general area had been selected, it was necessary to stake out the actual "millseat," and, with this in view, Marshall and John Wimmer (sometimes spelled Weimer or Wemer) left Sutter's Fort on August 28, characterized in the *New Helvetia Diary* as "a very warm day." That night a thunder and lightning storm occurred, interspersed with heavy rain, but it did not deter John Wimmer's father, Peter, from taking the same route the next day, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth and their children in two wagons loaded with tools and provisions. Gingery also left Sutter's for the proposed mill on the 29th. By the 31st, Ebenezer Persons, Alexander Stevens, James Brown, W. H. (Ira) and W. S. S. (Sidney) Willis, most of whom were Mormons recently disbanded from the Mormon Battalion, and seven Indians designated as Heuge, Seyti, Heimin, Cam, Heuge's brother Heimin, Charles and Gutché, were likewise on their way toward the mountains, with a wagon and three yoke of oxen and 20 sheep.¹¹ According to Sutter, the Indians were employed in constructing the road to what was then known simply as the "sawmill seat," the name of Coloma, or even "Culluma" and the other Indian variants, not having yet crept into the vocabu-

lary of the white man.¹² The journey thither was necessarily slow because of the recent rain, the awkwardness of the wagons—in reality, great Mexican carts with wooden wheels—and the newness of the road.

Upon arrival at their destination, a campsite was chosen in a grove of pine trees on the side of a long hill, south of and sloping to the river. A clapboarded double log cabin, to be divided between the Wimmer family and the white workers, was built near a spring. Mrs. Wimmer, in addition to caring for the needs of her own family, undertook to do the cooking for the crew. A separate cabin was built for Marshall. While the cabins were being erected, timbers were also cut for the foundations of the mill structure and its forebay, which were to be located a few feet east of a split or double pine tree near the river's edge, about one-half mile from the log cabin.

Marshall chose the site for the mill at the point where the river, running in a generally westward direction, curved towards the northwest, then west, and finally southwest before it resumed its accustomed course. Marshall's idea was to dig a ditch of several hundred feet across this bend, thereby diverting the water, with the aid of a dam, through a headrace into the forebay. From there it could be directed under the waterwheel at the east end of the mill structure. Leaving the wheel, it would then run the length of the mill to the west end, escaping through the tailrace back to the river. The saw, operated from the power of an undershot flutter-type waterwheel, was to be situated near the center of the mill, and was to be of the old-fashioned straight type, cutting vertically. The logs were to be snaked to the mill by oxen, and hauled onto a logway connecting the southeast side of the mill with a steep bank on the south. The mill structure itself was to be erected nearer the east end of the ditch than the west.

With the help of the Wimmers, the Mormons, and the Indians, supplemented by oxen, scrapers, plows, picks, shovels, spades, and blasting powder, the work on the ditch advanced rapidly. The white workers, who were to receive 12½ cents per cubic yard and found, were able individually to clear more than \$1.50 per day.¹³ The Indians were paid at a lesser rate, in food, supplies, and clothing.

During the first month of its activity, the little community at the sawmill seat was not entirely isolated from the general supervision of Sutter. Ginery, returning with a wagon and three Indians to Sutter's Fort on September 4, was followed the next day by Marshall, and on the 10th by Peter

PLATE I (Facing this page)

James W. Marshall's drawing of the lower portion of the mill structure and the forebay. The dimensions of the mill foundation were confirmed in 1947 by archaeological excavations conducted by the University of California in collaboration with the California State Park Commission and the National Park Service. (Courtesy of the California State Library.)

Wimmer. Thereafter, Marshall or the other members of the crew would report to the fort frequently. Sutter's teamsters, engaged in supplying tools and provisions to the sawmill, as well as to lumbering operations being carried on elsewhere, were also in touch with Marshall.

In the beginning the personnel at the sawmill was not static. First of the original crew to return permanently to Sutter's Fort seems to have been the Indian, Heuge. Sutter records in his diary for September 15, "Heuge and his wife arrived from the Sawmill seat, to recover their health." On September 26, Sidney Willis reported back to the fort with the idea of working at the Natomo grist mill.

There were additions to the crew as well. On September 24, "a man" was hired to go to the new site (John C. Kunze ?); and, one month after his original departure from the fort on August 28, Marshall in buckskins arrived at the mill with the largest reinforcement up to that time: Charles Bennett, Azariah Smith, William Bigler, William J. Johnson (also spelled Johnston), and Israel Evans. The last four were Mormons, most of whom were barely out of their teens and but recently released from the Mormon Battalion. Among them were the two who have supplied us with the only on-the-scene record leading up to the discovery of gold.¹⁴

The Cook Rebels

The additions to Marshall's crew arrived at dusk on Wednesday, September 29, and were bunked in the double log cabin, Mrs. Wimmer doing the cooking for both her family and the workers.

Their existence was not all drudgery and monotony. Soon after Bigler's arrival, he recorded that wild Indians had come near the camp. The cry of "Marlohinty, Marlohinty" from Marshall's Indians, meaning that there were bad Indians around, caused some bustle on the night of October 3. Guns were hunted up, bullets moulded, and a guard posted. Nothing could be seen, however, nor was there any undue incident. On the next night the members of the mill crew were again awakened by the same cry. One of the wild Indians was seen, but the rest succeeded in keeping themselves hidden and would not speak. Thereafter, according to Bigler, ten men with four guns among them were left to themselves.¹⁵

Food at the camp consisted of unbolted flour, pork, mutton, beef, salmon, dried peas, tea, coffee, and sugar. When provisions became low, as sometimes happened when Sutter's teamsters did not arrive on time, Bigler, armed with Marshall's gun and accompanied by one of the Indians to carry home the venison, did the hunting for the group. It was not an irksome task, for blacktail deer were plentiful, and he was paid as much to do this as to wield a shovel or an axe.¹⁶

As the work at the mill site progressed, the personnel became more or less permanent, with Marshall as boss, Peter Wimmer as his assistant in charge of the Indians digging the race, Bennett as head carpenter, Brown

as top sawyer, Bigler as hunter in addition to his other activities, and Stevens, Smith, Johnson and J. Wimmer helping as teamsters, or digging the race, felling trees, hewing, laying the foundations of the mill structure and forebay, and building the dam. By October, Ira Willis, Kunze, Persons, and Evans had departed to work elsewhere for Sutter. It is not known when William W. Barger joined the crew, but William Scott, a carpenter, was dispatched to the site on December 5.¹⁷

By January 1, the sawmill was taking shape. The ditch forming the head and tail races had been partially dug, the foundations and lower frame of the mill structure erected, and the dam was under construction. The dimensions of the mill foundations were 20 x 60 feet. Hand-hewn beams of pine, set into the decomposed granite bedrock, 15 feet apart, and parallel to each other, formed the main cross-supports of the mill structure. Sixty-foot plates, also hand-hewn, set into notches cut into the cross-supports, and 20 feet apart, ran the length of the mill to form the main lengthwise supports. Five mortises, cut into each of the two plates at 15-foot intervals to conform with the cross-supports, held five upright timbers, each 18 feet long, to support the floor of the mill. The forebay, a wooden flume, was not attached to the mill structure, but was near its east end. The dam, placed in the river with the aid of a wooden raft of three logs pinned together with pegs, was located near the entrance of the headrace and was built of brush set with the butt-ends downstream.¹⁸

Shortly before Christmas 1847, the race had been tested. Finding that the mill foundations had been set too low, thereby not allowing the water to escape freely into the tailrace, Marshall decided to have the tailrace cut deeper and wider. Leaving that task under Peter Wimmer's direction, he then departed for Sutter's Fort, arriving there on December 18 for the purpose of making models for the mill irons, Levi Fifield, a blacksmith, having been engaged to forge them. On January 7 the sawmill crank was commenced, the heaviest blacksmithing work ever attempted at Sutter's Fort. On the 14th, the crank, together with the rest of the mill irons, was dispatched to the sawmill with Marshall, a teamster (Selim Woodworth) and two Indian boys, in a wagon hauled by three yoke of oxen.¹⁹

During Marshall's absence of about a month at Sutter's Fort, affairs at the sawmill seat were not running too smoothly. On December 18 Marshall himself brought the news to Sutter that the Indians had killed one of the working bullocks. Added to this, a combination of circumstances was serving to ruin the good tempers of the camp—too close proximity in the double log cabin, inclement weather, and Marshall's prolonged absence.

The main altercation took place between Mrs. Wimmer and the Mormons on Christmas day. Perhaps there were two sides to this argument. Mrs. Wimmer on her part maintained that the boys would not respond to her calls for breakfast. Besides, Sutter had sent twelve bottles of brandy, hidden

in a barrel of dried peas, to the mill for the Christmas holidays—six for the workers and six for Mrs. Wimmer. These the boys had proceeded to consume, hers as well as theirs.²⁰

Mrs. Wimmer's cooking seems to have had something to do with the problem. According to Bigler, she was partial, "always keeping back all the best parts of the victuals for favorites who eat at the second table."²¹ At any rate, on Christmas day, Mrs. Wimmer gave notice that she would not get breakfast for the workers if they didn't appear when called. This evidently irked the crew. Bigler's version of Christmas day runs thus:

. . . on the morning of Christmas, she took offense because it happened that all the boys failed to come at her first call to breakfast and threatened not to give us any breakfast, and even swore about it so I made the following rhyme:

On Christmas morn in bed she swore,
That she would cook for us no more,
Unless we'd come at the first call,
For I am mistress of you all.²²

Not all of Christmas was spent in dissension, however. Bigler wrote that several of them went to the top of the high mountain across the river from the mill (Mt. Murphy) and ". . . divirted ourselves in rolling large stones down the mountain, [and] it was fun to see them run and the distance they jumped. We surprised a number of deer who made off in double quick time."²³ A sermon was also preached on the mountain by Bigler. For dinner that night, Mrs. Wimmer, relenting evidently, provided a good meal, which included, among other things, meat, bread, and apple and pumpkin pies.

The occupants of the camp were beset with other troubles. It started to rain on Sunday, January 9, and continued almost without ceasing until the following Thursday. The river rose to such an extent that the mill was threatened; but the men, though exhausted from working day and night, were able to save it. By this time all were expressing their impatience at Marshall's delay.²⁴

When he returned the middle of the month, he found that affairs at the site had come to a head. The Mormons, consisting of Bigler, Smith, Barger, Brown, Stevens, and Johnson, asked for permission to build their own cabin near the mill. This was readily granted by Marshall, who sympathized with them, but at the same time appreciated the services of his cook. As Smith records: "Mr. Marshall having arrived, we got liberty of him, and built a small house, down by the mill, and last Sun [January 23] we moved into it in order to get rid of the Brawling, Partial, Mistress and cook for ourselves."²⁵

Marshall Discovers Gold

Marshall, having given orders on his departure in December to deepen the tailrace, found on his return that his men had complied with his instructions. However, it was still not deep enough. Consequently, it was decided to excavate the race during the day, while at night the gates of the forebay were to be hoisted to allow the water to run through the entire ditch. The

swift, running water thus washed away the accumulated loose dirt, sand, gravel, and clay; and the rocks that could not be moved during the day were blasted out. When the soft decomposed granite was reached, it was deepened by hand. Most of this work was done by Indians under the supervision of Peter Wimmer, sometimes helped by the Mormons. Marshall's time during the day was occupied mainly at the mill structure and on the mill machinery. However, he usually inspected the race early in the morning and late in the afternoon to see what had to be done.²⁶

On January 24, Marshall made one of his usual early morning inspections of the tailrace, after the gates of the forebay had been shut. There are several versions of this inspection. According to the best evidence, Marshall made his way to the end of the race, where most of the digging was being done. There, near the north bank of the race, about 200 feet from the west end of the mill, he saw something glittering on the bedrock beneath the shallow surface of the water. Upon inspection it appeared to be a yellow metal. Was it gold? He thought it might be. It proved malleable when he beat it between two rocks.

Searching farther, he gathered up several similar pieces, which he put into the depressed crown of his slouch hat. He then made his way back to the mill yard, where most of the white men were just starting their day's work after breakfast. They were engaged in various jobs. Bigler was drilling, preparatory to putting in a blast near where the waterwheel was to be. Brown was sawing in the sawpit with Barger. Stevens, Smith, and Bennett were working on some timbers near the mill foundation. Scott was at the carpenter's bench making the waterwheel. Johnson and the two Wimmers, Peter and John, were absent from the scene—Peter Wimmer at the double log cabin, and J. Wimmer and Johnson at Sutter's Fort.

As the smiling, bareheaded Marshall approached the carpenter's bench, he said, "Boys, I believe I have found a gold mine." Dropping their tools, the workers gathered around him. There in his hat, which he put on the bench, were several particles of what appeared to be gold. They ranged in size from the tiniest fleck to a grain of wheat. Most of them had a smooth, scale-like appearance. After a brief period of examination, and some discussion, several simple tests were made of the metal. It was compared with a five dollar gold piece which Smith had in his pocket. It was also bitten. At least one piece was pounded thin with a hammer on the anvil near by. Upon the arrival of Peter Wimmer, who appeared surprised at the discovery, all went to the lower end of the race to see if more could be found.

The search in the race proved to be exciting. First, one would spy a flash of gold in the morning sunlight, and then another. Picking up the pieces with their fingers from under the water was difficult. After some trial and error, it was found that the blade of a knife worked admirably. Once the particle of metal lay on the point of the blade, it could be held there with

the forefinger and then placed in the palm of the other hand. All of the gold found was put into a vial, with Marshall as the custodian. The search went on for a morning or two until a few ounces had been found.

The metal was put through further tests, which included boiling for several hours in a solution of lye, which Mrs. Wimmer was using to make soap. This did not affect its shiny appearance in the least. Attempts were also made to melt some of the particles in the coals of a hot manzanita wood fire but proved fruitless. With this evidence of its authenticity, Marshall now decided to report his find to Sutter at the fort, where the metal could be put through tests which were not possible at the sawmill seat. As we have seen, he arrived there on January 28.²⁷

The tests at Sutter's Fort left little doubt that Marshall's metal was gold. Carried on in secret by Sutter and Marshall, they consisted of applying aqua fortis to the metal and testing its specific gravity. The acid did not affect the metal. When an equal weight of silver coin and the gold were placed in apothecary scales, and submerged in two bowls of water, the gold outweighed the silver. A volume of the *American Encyclopedia* was then brought out by Sutter. The information therein seemed to confirm the fact that Marshall's find was gold. Now fully convinced that he had really discovered a gold mine, it was agreed by the two partners to keep the matter a secret for the time being, at least until the mill was finished. With this understanding, Marshall again departed for the sawmill seat on January 29, arriving there on the 30th. His workers were given the good news of the success of the test, but he pledged them not to tell about it until the mill was finished.²⁸

Such is the story of the discovery of gold on the morning of January 24, 1848. Another version, that of Marshall himself, would place the discovery on the 19th, instead of the 24th. Marshall always maintained that he had found the gold on or about the 19th. This is difficult to believe, however, in view of the recorded dates in the diaries of Bigler, Smith, and Sutter. Marshall did not keep a personal record of events at the mill; at least, none has been found. His statements concerning January 19 were made from memory several years after the event. His drawing depicting the gold discovery, which was found in his effects at the time of his death, was also drawn from memory, evidently some time after the discovery. Added to this are statements by both Bigler and Brown that the day before he showed the gold to the workers in the mill yard, he sent an Indian to Brown asking him to get a tin plate from the Mormons' cabin. Marshall then tried to pan the sand at the bottom of the tailrace, thus showing that he must have

PLATE II (Facing this page)

Marshall's drawing depicting the announcement to his men of the discovery of gold. (Courtesy of the California State Library.)

suspected the presence of gold. The significant thing, however, is that if he sent to the Mormons' cabin for the plate, he could not have done so before January 23, as the Mormons did not move in until Sunday, January 23. Both Bigler and Brown record that they were living in the cabin at the time Marshall sent for the plate.²⁹

The incident of the plate leads to another interesting possibility. Brown says that he was with Marshall when he tried to pan the sand. This was on the morning of the 23rd, and nothing was found. Bigler, on the other hand, says that Marshall sent for the plate on the afternoon of the 24th. Furthermore, he tells how Marshall, before quitting work on that day, told the men that he believed he had found a gold mine. Nothing much was said at the time, but Bigler states that before retiring Marshall went to the Mormons' cabin where he reiterated his claim. Although he showed them no gold, he said that he had tried to melt some, but could not.

According to Bigler, in his "Diary of a Mormon," the incident of collecting the gold in the hat took place on the morning of January 25. His statement must be taken with caution, however, as it was written almost 25 years after the discovery; but his original journal, on which his "Diary of a Mormon" is based, furnishes primary evidence. His entry of Monday, January 24, that some kind of metal resembling gold had been found in the tailrace, would indicate that Bigler had seen some of the particles, and was impressed enough to write about them in his diary. If this is correct, it also leaves the interesting possibility that Marshall may have discovered gold on the afternoon of January 23, instead of early on the morning of the 24th, provided he actually did visit the Mormons before retiring and tell them he had tried to melt some of the particles.³⁰

Although Mrs. Wimmer in later years maintained that Peter Wimmer was with Marshall at the time of the discovery, this view is not generally accepted. The piece of gold which she exhibited as the original piece, and which she claimed had been given to her son, Martin, by Marshall—the one tested in the lye solution—in all probability was given to her later by Scott. It was larger than any of the original particles found.³¹

The Sawmill Begins Operation

Fully convinced that Marshall had found a gold mine, Sutter, accompanied by Johnson and two of his trusted Indians, left the fort for the mill site on the evening of February 1. Marshall had already been to the mill but he returned part way to escort the party, and they continued on to the little valley on the South Fork of the American, arriving there the next day.³²

The workers were ready for Sutter's first inspection. Desiring to give him a real surprise, they had, at Marshall's suggestion, salted the tailrace. All of the gold accumulated during the past week, amounting to several ounces, was now carefully scattered along the bottom of the race, where

their visitor could easily pick it up. As the distinguished looking Sutter approached, attended by his Indians and Marshall, and walking with the aid of a cane, all was expectation. On the scene at the moment appeared the youngest of the Wimmers, little Martin, coming directly from the tailrace. As he approached the group, he excitedly held out his hands and exclaimed, "See what I have found!" In his palms was most of the gold that had been carefully planted by the workers.

The surprise was spoiled; nevertheless, Sutter was pleased. Exclaiming that it was rich, he and the others proceeded to the tailrace, where several particles, not picked up by the boy, were found. These, with the salted gold, he said he would have made into a ring with his coat-of-arms engraved upon it. On the inside would be an inscription with the words, "The first gold discovered in California 1848." To the workers he presented several pocketknives, with which to carry on their gold-mining operations. In addition, he made them a present of a bottle of whiskey. Again stating that the metal was gold, he asked them to keep it a secret, at least for several weeks, until the sawmill and the grist mill at Natomo were finished. This they agreed to do.

Sutter and Marshall proceeded at once legally to bind their title to the sawmill property and to the surrounding area, through the consummation of an agreement with the local Indians to insure peace, and the signing of a lease whereby for three years Marshall and Sutter would have the privilege of mining the gold in the vicinity. The Indians were to be paid \$200 per year in goods at prices prevailing at Yerba Buena, for the joint occupation of the land. They, on their part, agreed not to kill horses, cattle, or sheep, nor burn the grass within the limits fixed by the agreement. With this part of the claim established, Sutter returned to the fort, arriving there on February 5. With him came Bennett, who was dispatched by launch on February 8 to Yerba Buena. Bennett's mission was to see Col. R. B. Mason, military governor and commander of the United States forces in Monterey, for the purpose of having the lands at the sawmill seat confirmed in the names of Marshall and Sutter.³³

The men at the sawmill, true to their promises, pushed the work as rapidly as possible. They had no idea of the extent of the gold, and their steady work at the mill appealed to them more than the chances involved in its pursuit; but they did have an understanding with Marshall that when the mill was finished they would have first right to hunt for the precious metal on the land. He was to supply them with provisions, and they were to give him half of their finds. Meanwhile, during their spare time and on Sundays, they could hunt for gold, provided they gave him half.

Construction work consisted mainly of deepening the tailrace, erecting the upper frame of the mill structure, putting in the waterwheel, and finishing the placement of the mill machinery, including the saw. In addition, two

more cabins were built, one on the quarter section below the mill and one on the quarter section above, to confirm Sutter's and Marshall's title to the land.³⁴ To give an augmented air of permanency, as well as to increase their food supply, Bigler and Marshall on February 21 harrowed and sowed three acres of peas, across the river from the mill.

On February 22, the upper frame of the mill structure was ready to be raised. In all probability, the waterwheel was in place, as Scott was already at work on it at the time of the gold discovery on January 24; and on the same date, it will be remembered, Bigler was preparing a blast at the site it was to occupy. With these items in place, and the seating of the mill irons, including the saw, accomplished, the open-sided mill would be completed.

A snow storm on February 22 convinced Marshall that the task of erecting the heavy timbers of the upper frame of the mill would be too dangerous, consequently he allowed the men a holiday. In the succeeding days, however, the frame was put in place, and by March 11 the mill was ready for operation.

The first testing took place on Saturday, March 11, according to Bigler. According to Smith, it was March 12. Both agree, however, that it did not run too well. The water, backing into the mill from the tailrace, was still too great to allow the waterwheel to turn fast enough. This in turn slowed the saw. Nevertheless, one log was sawed, and the lumber pinned onto the forebay.³⁵ On the 13th, Marshall and P. Wimmer arrived at the fort with the news that the mill was in operation. A few days later, on the 17th, Sutter recorded for the first time the name of the mill. He wrote: "Friday March 17th 1848 Despatched three Wagons with provisions to the Sawmill (named Culloma) with Woodworth & Crooks. P. Wimmer left with Martin & Elha to drive the hogs."³⁶

The operation of the power-driven saw was a great curiosity to the Indians. One of them, who had occasionally worked in the sawpit with Brown, had contended that it would be a failure. When he saw that it was not, he lay on the bank near by, watching it go up and down for two hours. Finally he said, "*Bueno!*" ("Good!"). As Bigler records, the Indian now wanted to be a sawyer, "as before he could not conceive how a saw could run without a man at the end of it."³⁷

The mill continued to run the week following with better results, upon further deepening of the race, thus reducing the backwater. By the week beginning March 19, the race was sufficiently deep to allow some of the Indians to work, instead, at felling trees. Bigler continues on March 26:

All last week I was set to teaching some Indians how to use an ax to cut down trees for some logs. They were anxious to learn but very awkward and every now and then they cut themselves with the ax, a foot or leg, some awful gashes, and look at me in a wistful way as if I could prevent it. I felt sorry for them.³⁸

Now in operation, the mill gave fair promise of being a success, and with

the arrival of a few planks at Sutter's Fort on March 22, Sutter's dream had materialized. Although only a sample, it was the culmination of his long years of planning and waiting.³⁹

Gold Versus Lumber

Although Marshall's workers had devoted themselves faithfully to their task of finishing the sawmill, they spent as much of their spare time as possible trying to find gold. The tailrace, being the source of discovery, continued to be the particular scene of their operations. Pocketknives and butcherknives were still the method used to extract the particles. During the first week after the discovery, they succeeded in picking up more than \$100 worth.

The first gold found outside of the tailrace was on Sunday, February 6, when Bigler and Barger decided to look for it across the river, in the seams and cracks of the granite outcrops; and to help them in estimating the value of their find, they made a pair of wooden scales. With the use of a 12½ cent piece of silver as counterweight, equal to \$2.00 in gold, they estimated that they had found \$10 worth.

Believing that gold might be found farther downstream, Bigler decided to hunt there, also. Consequently, on Saturday, February 12, he borrowed Brown's gun and said he was going hunting for ducks. Half a mile below the mill, he noticed an outcropping on the other side of the river, similar to that found in the bottom of the tailrace. He waded across and found about \$1.50 worth in the seams and cracks of the rock. Bigler said nothing about his discovery, but returned the next day with even greater success.

The holiday of February 22 provided him with a chance to explore his find further. Again using the excuse of hunting, he started off to his mine by a roundabout way, but the water had risen in the river and he had some difficulty in crossing. Once on the other side, he tried to build a fire to warm his feet; however, the priming of his gun, with which he hoped to start it, was wet. Neither was he successful in getting a fire started with his flint and steel, because his hands were so cold that he could not hold them properly. Jumping up and down and dancing over the rocks in his misery, he writes that "while doing so I saw every now and then a yellow piece staring me in the face, but was too cold to stop and pick them up."⁴⁰ Finally, feeling warmer, he went to work with his pocketknife.

Searching closely in the sand near the river, Bigler found a round nugget shaped like a bullet, which was worth about \$6.00. This excited him so much that he crouched for several hours looking for more. In the process he picked up several smaller pieces, but when he arose to full length, he cried out from the pain caused by his cramped muscles, which made him feel as if his back were broken. After a few minutes the agony passed off.

It was now night and he made his way back up the river to the brush dam of the sawmill. Calling for Brown, who soon crossed the river on the

log raft, he was ferried over to the other side. At the Mormons' cabin his companions questioned him as to his luck in hunting and the reason for his lateness. Suspicious now, they asked him why he had not departed in the morning by way of the dam. Bigler then asked for the wooden scales. Pulling up one corner of his shirt, which he had used to tie up his gold, he weighed out his findings before the fixed stare of the others. In all he had found \$22.50 worth. The secret out, he told them of his discovery downstream.

Bigler's new find would have caused an end to the work on the sawmill, had it not been for the men's promise to finish the structure and to search for gold only on Sundays and during their spare time. On the 27th, Bigler took the Mormons to his ledge down the river, but because of the high water, only \$33 in gold could be found.⁴¹

However advisable it might be to keep the gold discovery a secret, the news leaked out. One of the first to reveal it was Sutter's Swiss teamster, Jacob Wittmer. On February 9, Sutter dispatched him with two wagons to the sawmill, where he was told of the gold discovery by one of the little Wimmer boys. Wittmer disbelieved the story, but it was corroborated by Mrs. Wimmer, who showed him some of the gold. Getting some samples for himself, he returned to Sutter's Fort on February 14. As Sutter records on that day, "Wittmer returned with the two Wagons from the Mountains, and told every body of the Gold mines there and brought a few samples with him."⁴² The first one told appears to have been George Smith, who ran the store at Sutter's Fort in partnership with Samuel Brannan. Wittmer bought a bottle of brandy from Smith, and when the latter refused to accept the gold which Wittmer handed him in payment, Wittmer told him to ask Sutter whether it was gold or not. By his answer Sutter confirmed the discovery, whereupon Smith wrote to Brannan in San Francisco, telling him the facts.⁴³

Others let the news out as well. Bennett on his way to Monterey, told the story and showed some of the gold in Benicia, in San Francisco, and in Monterey. Sutter, himself, had written to General Vallejo on February 10 telling of it.⁴⁴ Bidwell also says that he told Vallejo, a short time after the discovery. He quotes Vallejo as saying, "As the water flows through Sutter's millrace, may the gold flow into Sutter's purse."⁴⁵

Bigler seems to have let others of the Mormon Battalion, namely, those working on Sutter's grist mill, into the secret. In a letter written on February 20, he cautioned them to keep it confidential, but invited them to come up and see for themselves. As a result of this letter, Sidney Willis, Wilford Hudson, and Fifield arrived at the Mormons' cabin at the sawmill on February 27. Marshall being there and in a good mood, they asked for permission to hunt for gold in the tailrace, which he readily granted. The next day, Hudson, with the help of a butcherknife, picked up a nugget worth about \$6.00.

Convinced that the gold was to be had in some quantity, Willis and Hudson decided to return to the fort by way of the river. Fifield, accompanied by Bigler, returned by the road. When they met at the grist mill, Willis and Hudson told of finding a few particles of gold on an island in the American River about halfway between Coloma and Sutter's Fort. This was enough to convince the others that it would be worthwhile to go back.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, work at the sawmill went on as usual. Sundays were the best days to look for gold. On March 19, after the mill had begun operation, Bigler, having returned, found about two ounces. On the 26th he found \$6.00 worth, and on April 2 another two ounces. Their promise to finish the mill fulfilled, Bigler, Stevens, and Brown now decided to go to Sutter's Fort to terminate their agreement. In addition to their desire to spend full time in searching for gold, the date was drawing near for their expected departure home to Salt Lake City. Accordingly, on April 8 they settled their accounts with Sutter at the fort and on the 11th were on their way back to the sawmill, not as mill workers, but as gold miners. Finding some in a gulch, they went on to the island mentioned earlier by Hudson and Willis. There they found seven Mormons—the two Willis brothers, Hudson, William Green, Jesse B. Martin, Israel Evans, and James Sly—at work in the diggings. Already, about \$250 worth had been found, and for the first time something besides knives was being used to get out the gold. These were two closely woven native Indian baskets, equal in capacity to an 8- or 10-quart basin, which were yielding up to \$2.50 per basket with each washing. The site later became famous as Mormon Island.⁴⁷

The personnel at the sawmill dispersed rapidly after the hunt for gold began in earnest. Of those who had been on the scene when gold was discovered, Bennett was the first to leave, having departed for Monterey on February 8. Returning to Sutter's Fort on March 13, he brought back word that Colonel Mason had refused to confirm the title to the land at the sawmill, because a treaty had not yet been signed with Mexico to end the war. Barger is last recorded as arriving at the fort on March 7. Bigler, Stevens, and Brown departed from the sawmill on April 7. Scott had arrived at the fort with the sample load of lumber on March 22, Smith on April 18, and Johnson on April 30. By the first of May, Marshall was running the mill with the help of a few Indians, Horace Loy, and James Gregson. Gregson had reported to the mill sometime before as a blacksmith, and Loy was hired as a teamster on May 1. The Wimmer family had moved temporarily to the vicinity of Diamond Springs, and Mrs. Gregson was now the cook at the sawmill camp.⁴⁸

By April, others were on their way to the mines around Coloma. Through various channels, including publication in Brannan's *Californian* on March 15, and E. C. Kemble's *California Star* on March 18, followed by other accounts in April, the news of the gold discovery spread locally. Marshall and

P. Wimmer, accompanied by James Humphrey and McKinstry left Sutter's Fort for the mines on April 3. Humphrey, a Georgian, who had worked in the mines of his native state and had talked with Bennett and seen his samples in San Francisco, arranged a partnership with Marshall to hunt for gold. On April 7, Brannan arrived at Sutter's Fort with the idea of putting up a store at Coloma. A Doctor Bates and John Sinclair departed from Sutter's Fort on April 4 and again on the 12th, Baptiste Ruelle and his family shortly after the 15th, and Sutter, Maj. P. B. Reading, and Kemble on the 19th. Thereafter, a steady stream of people from San Francisco, Sonoma, San Jose, Monterey, and other parts of California made their way to the mines.

Finding it difficult to run his sawmill, to finish his grist mill, or to operate his other undertakings because of a shortage of workers, Sutter records a growing pessimism. On May 16, he wrote that he had good prospects with the mill at Natomo. By the end of that month all work had stopped. The sawmill, which had promised so much, had been forced to close down after cutting only a few thousand feet of lumber. The statement in his diary of Friday, May 19, is rather sad. He wrote, "Despatched 3 Wagons to the Mountains for Mr. Brannan. Getting planks for him from the Landing place."⁴⁹ Brannan was dependent on lumber from Sutter's Fort to build his store at Coloma!

May 25 is the last date recorded by Sutter in his diary. His statement for that day of "A number of people continue traveling to the Mountains,"⁵⁰ is revelation enough of the gold fever that had set in. Local then, before another year had passed, it was to have its reverberations in the far corners of the earth.

Gold Rush Days

As was said above, although the sawmill had been forced to shut down by the middle of May 1848, there was no dearth of activity in the vicinity of Coloma. The Mormon workers, who had done much of the pioneer prospecting, left for Salt Lake City on June 26. None of them had become wealthy as miners. Smith, for example, found about \$400 worth of gold, the largest amount being about \$80 in one day.⁵¹

Marshall's mill workers had witnessed the beginning of the gold rush and the transition from the crude methods of pocket, butcher, and tableknife mining to the more efficient extraction of gold by Indian basket, pan, rocker, and sheet. As the gold rush began to get under way, Indian baskets were at a premium. Bigler tells of one man who bought fifteen and sold them for \$15 each.⁵²

Other systems came into use. Those who could not obtain an Indian basket used a tin pan, if procurable. The first real improvement was the so-called cradle or rocker, the origin of which is difficult to ascertain. Alexander Stevens, one of the original mill workers, appears entitled to some of the credit for inventing this system. Not being able to procure a

tin pan or an Indian basket, he fashioned a wooden dish from a log. It was much like the Mexican *batea*, but it had a round bottom. The dish was filled with dirt from the bedrock, then shaken, water being used to carry off the excess sand and gravel. After it was found to be easier to rock the dish than to shake it, the idea of the rocker emerged. When the contrivance was slanted, the gold would settle in the black sand at the lower end. At short intervals, the accumulated black sand would be put into a tub, after which, at night, it would be cleaned and the gold weighed.⁵³

Another method involved the use of a bedsheet. Bigler and Brown, seeing an old Sonoran using one, decided to try it. A sheet was spread in a slanting position near a hole of water and some of the gold-bearing dirt was placed on it. The miners, straddling the hole, would then shovel water from it onto the sheet, and the water, washing away the dirt, would leave the gold.⁵⁴ This was an improvement over the wooden dish, but was not as efficient as the rocker. Actually, much of the gravel mined was found in dry gulches away from the river. It was gathered into sacks and was then carried several hundred yards to the river bank. The favorite dry gulches of Bigler and his associates were about a mile below the sawmill on the north side of the river.

By the time the Mormons were ready to leave, all of California seemed to be moving towards the mines. Sutter, his sawmill shut down, had started a store in partnership with Hastings and Henry Chever, in the old double log cabin formerly occupied by the Wimmer family and the mill workers. Brannan had also put up his store, and had helped to lay out the booming town of Coloma.⁵⁵

The arrival of Col. R. B. Mason, accompanied by Lieut. W. T. Sherman, in July 1848, heralded the importance of the gold mines. Although Thomas O. Larkin and Lieut. Edward F. Beale had previously reported the finds to Washington, outside of California there was not an unusual interest in the gold discovery. Mason's visit, however, resulted in quickening world-wide excitement.

He reached the fort on July 2, and was Sutter's guest on July 4. Resuming his journey on July 5, Mason made his way to the so-called "Lower Mines" at the Mormon Diggings (Mormon Island and vicinity), thence ascending the American River to Coloma, which was the center of the "Upper Mines." Here he made a thorough examination of the gold-bearing placers. In addition to compiling notes for a comprehensive report, he had several maps drawn, that of the "Upper Mines" being the first to locate creditably the sawmill, the tailrace, and the site of the gold discovery. Using a scale of 60 feet for the length of the sawmill, one can estimate that the first gold was found about 200 feet from the end of the mill, at the spot marked "X" by Mason on his map. His determination was based on discussions with Marshall, who now lived in one of the cabins near the mill.

Mason departed from Coloma on July 7. He visited other areas, including the Weber Creek diggings, then returned to the "Lower Mines," and finally reached Monterey on July 17. In his official report, conveyed to Washington by Lieut. L. Loeser, he described the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, the large quantities being found, the desertion of soldiers, sailors, and laborers to the mines, and the various localities from which gold was obtained—the watersheds of the American, Yuba, Feather, Bear, and the Cosumnes. The following sums up his estimate of the value of the placers: "The most moderate estimate I could obtain from men acquainted with the subject, was that upwards of four thousand men were working in the Gold district, of whom more than half were Indians; and that from \$30,000 to \$50,000 worth of Gold, if not more, was daily obtained." Continuing, he adds:

Many private letters have gone to the United States giving accounts of the vast quantity of Gold recently discovered, and it may be a matter of surprise why I have made no report on this subject at an earlier date. The reason is, that I could not bring myself to believe the reports that I heard of the Gold District, until I visited it myself. I have no hesitation now in saying that there is more Gold in the Country drained by the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, that will pay the cost of the present war with Mexico a hundred times over.⁵⁶

Loeser, who left Monterey on August 30 on board the schooner *Lambayecana* bound for Peru, reached Washington in November, in time for Mason's reports and maps to be incorporated in President Polk's annual message of December 5, 1848, to Congress, where they made an indelible impression and were featured in the eastern newspapers. The impression was immeasurably increased by 230 ounces, 15 pennyweights and 9 grains of gold which Loeser brought with him, and which Mason had purchased on his trip to the mines. Thereafter, there was no stinting of publicity. The gold rush to California had begun.

At about the same time that Loeser made his trip, another particle of gold—flattened and worth about 50 cents—was on its way to Washington. This, transmitted by Capt. J. L. Folsom to the Smithsonian Institution on August 23, was supposed to be the original piece of gold found by Marshall on January 24. That it was the original is open to some question. Undoubtedly, however, it was one of the original particles picked up by Marshall, and one of those flattened on the anvil.⁵⁷

Coloma, the center of the upper mines, became the chief distribution point for that area. Buildings and tents mushroomed into being on both sides of the river. With this growth came a demand for lumber. To supply that demand, Sutter's sawmill again went into production in December 1848 under new operators, Sutter having sold his half interest to John Winters and Alden S. Bayley for \$6,000, and Marshall selling a third of his interest to the same parties for \$2,000.⁵⁸ Lumber from the mill, then selling at \$500 per 1,000 feet, went into most of the buildings being constructed. By the

fall of 1849, with the mill still running day and night, Coloma could boast of having more board houses than any other town in the mining region.⁵⁹

As both sides of the river were built up, Coloma's population grew to several thousand. In keeping with her style as the queen of the mines, her streets became lined with a retinue of stores, saloons, gambling houses, eating establishments, meat stalls, and the many other activities characteristic of a booming mining town. By July 1849, immigrants from across the plains were mingling with those who had come by sea around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama. There were representatives from every nation under the sun possessing one thing in common—the lust for gold.

In keeping with Coloma's position as a center of travel and distribution, her transportation system had to be transformed. The old brush dam was replaced by a new one a short distance downstream, over which the foot traveler could walk. A bridge was built about 800 feet upstream from the mill, and travelers were also ferried across the river in a scow, instead of on the raft made of three logs pinned together, in use in Bigler's day. The great lumbering Mexican carts drawn by oxen gave way to long pack trains.

As for the mill, from the very nature of its business its prosperity could not last indefinitely. By the end of May 1849, it was forced to shut down again, because of the lack of available timber combined with high operating costs. Marshall, elsewhere, looking for gold which he never found in quantity, was informed that his mill timbers were being taken by unscrupulous miners. He himself had been driven from Coloma earlier in 1849, as a result of trying to save some of his Indians from being murdered by whites. His cabin burned, and his land usurped, he was followed unmercifully by those who believed him a wizard, able to find gold. With Sutter, he became a victim of the madness that was gripping men's hearts and deadening their consciences. But students of history would be the last ones to say that the manifestations of the disease were new.

By 1853, Sutter's sawmill stood as mute testimony of a dream of a former day. A daguerreotype, the only actual photograph of the mill in our possession, and taken about this time, is evidence enough of its condition. The tailrace, filled with sand and gravel, held none of the water that had at first revealed the gold. The mill structure, boarded in, appears aged in its dilapidation. Marshall, standing in the silted race near the west end of the mill, has little cause to thank the fortune that granted him the privilege of finding a particle of gold on that morning in January 1848.⁶⁰

The River Takes Over

The passing of the height of the gold rush by the early 1850's found Coloma settling down to a more normal activity. Other sawmills than Sutter's had come into existence in the vicinity and had likewise been abandoned; for example, one built by H. H. Griswold was being turned into a

gristmill in December 1853, to be ready for the next year's crop.⁶¹ Agriculture was challenging gold, as gold had once challenged lumber.

Sutter's sawmill, however, could not claim even the distinction of becoming a gristmill. An object of curiosity, it had seemingly passed into oblivion. Some believed it should be preserved for posterity. As one prophetic and historically conscious Coloma editor wrote in 1854:

In our swift progress to eminence . . . we should remember our classic ground—Sutter's Old Mill. The race, so celebrated in story, and the digging of which proved so pregnant in the history of our times, is filled up—useless. The clatter of the wheel is stilled, probably never again to reverberate upon the ear—the saw and other trappings are removed as the hand of the Goth is removing portions of its structure for holy relics—as mementos of a pilgrimage to its shrine. The sturdy frame still stands a way mark to the wanderer, a fit representative of the past, an object of solicitude for the future. Its history is classic.

Among the changes which are continually going on in our midst—the levelling propensities of the age . . . it would be well to preserve some vestige of our past—a relic to open the page of an early history; and what more fitting emblem could be preserved than Sutter's Mill. It is, at the present time an object of curiosity, and will continue to become so. Frequent pilgrimages are made to this place on purpose to visit the mill; and but a few days since, a party of ladies and gentlemen were here from San Francisco for the same purpose. As time progresses, this spot will become more attractive, and consequently numerous visitors will congregate here, to examine the place where gold was first discovered, and to take a look at the Mill. Who will dispute its claims to being classic ground?⁶²

But to be preserved intact was not to be the fate of the sawmill. What the miners had not appropriated, a building boom in Coloma in 1854 and 1855 took. Most of the town's wooden buildings were torn down at that time and were replaced by structures of more permanent materials, the wood being used in the construction process. Illustrations of 1857 show no structure whatsoever standing at the site of the mill.

The iron crank of the sawmill, which Fifield had made during January 1848, had been saved by Marshall, and was presented by him to the Society of California Pioneers of San Francisco, but along with the other possessions of that society it was destroyed in the great fire of 1906.⁶³

Part of the mill had gone into the making of souvenirs. In June 1854 canes were being made of the massive oak timber of the mill's headblock, which Bigler in 1848 had snaked down to the mill with the aid of oxen.⁶⁴ These canes, selling for \$10 to \$12 when not even completely finished, were much sought after in Sacramento and San Francisco. One, especially, deserves to go down in history. As one writer records in December 1854:

Yesterday in passing by the jewelry store of J. W. Seeley, on Main St., we stopped in to look at a genuine California cane just completed by Mr. Seeley for Mr. Tallman of this town. The stick is oak, and from the headblocks of the Sutter Mill, of fine polish, mounted with an octagon head of gold, beautifully engraved, with heavy scroll-work, and weighing nearly six ounces. In the top is a piece of gold-bearing quartz, highly polished, and around this is engraved in Roman and Italic, "To Joseph Lee, of New

York, from B. Tallman, of California." Opening the top, a snuff box is enclosed, on the cover of which, is an accurate, and the best engraving of Sutter's Mill we have ever seen.

As a work of skill, it will be difficult to equal, and as a token of regard, it is the best and neatest we have yet seen, in the way of canes.⁶⁵

Happily, the mill structure was spared one disgrace. In their mad quest for gold, even from the early days of the gold rush, the miners had held as venerable the ground upon which the mill was placed. Consequently, it was never mined, nor were the foundation timbers or those of the tailrace ever torn out. Gold mining activities had gone on all around it, but it was not until 1854 that the bar of the mill, through which the race had been dug, was fully mined. In October 1855, fifteen pounds of gold were taken out a few rods above the mill, the miners, within 300 feet of where the first gold was discovered, averaging some \$10 per day each.⁶⁶ Thereafter, what the white men could not get, the Chinese did. They mined over the adjacent area several times, and piles of rock still remain as evidences of their patient toil.

The moving of the county seat to Placerville (Hangtown) in 1857, showed that Coloma had passed her period of prosperity. Marshall's death in 1885 further marked the end of an era in Coloma. Of the original mill-workers, he was the last to remain on the scene, the Wimmers and Scott, who returned to Coloma for a time, having departed by 1865.⁶⁷

By the time of Marshall's death, the river had already claimed the mill which he had built. Mud, sand, gravel, and boulders hid completely what remained of the timbers of the structure and tailrace. From time to time, as if to give the curious a peek at the precious timbers, raging floods would expose them. Thus they were uncovered in 1861-1862. The floods of 1867 and 1868 re-covered them, however, keeping them intact for the eyes of another day.⁶⁸

Rediscovery

The passage of the years found the sawmill site neglected, but not entirely forgotten. A huge bronze statue depicting Marshall, in rough miner's garb, pointing to the spot where gold was discovered, was erected by the State of California at the instigation of the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West and dedicated on May 3, 1890. There, half a mile from the mill, on the hill south of the town, the discoverer had been buried. And on January 24, 1898, the last of Marshall's contemporaries—Bigler, Smith, Brown, and Johnson—gathered in San Francisco to participate in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery.

The years of another quarter century passed, when, in August and September 1924, extreme low water again revealed the foundation timbers. C. F. Clark of Coloma, seeing them protrude through the sand and gravel of the river bed, sent a piece to Phil B. Bekeart of San Francisco. Bekeart, the son of one of Coloma's '49ers, believed with Clark that it was a part of the original timbers.

Under the auspices of the Society of California Pioneers, of which he was a leading member, Bekeart investigated the site further. He used a map copied from Colonel Mason's of 1848, and, with the aid of a United States Geological Survey map, he estimated the location of the old mill. The exposed logs were thought by him to be those of the dam. Choosing a spot 50 feet below the logs, he decided to excavate.

The excavation proved to be rather remarkable, so far as the results were concerned. With the aid of a crew of local workers, a wing dam was erected to keep out the water, a 10-horsepower pump removing the seepage. Bedrock was reached after digging 8 feet through the river sand and gravel; and in the bottom of this 9' x 16' x 8' excavation Bekeart uncovered some of the foundation timbers of the west end of the mill structure, together with one of the straight power-driven saws, a few pieces of mill irons, sawdust, bits of wood, and other objects. Even a few small particles of gold, worth about 25 cents, were mined. Most of these items were later placed with the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, for safe keeping.

Having identified the site, Bekeart proceeded to erect a monument of smooth-worn river rocks and concrete, 18 feet high from the bedrock, 22 feet long, and 9 feet wide, to mark the old mill. On completion, it stood 10 feet above the river gravel and had "Sutter's Mill" spelled out in white stones on its south face to insure that no longer would the site be lost. The structure, which was wedge-shaped at the ends to ward off the rushing water, stood in the river some 50 feet from the south bank. Not uncommonly pieces of drift-wood could be seen perched on top after a flood.⁶⁹

Almost another quarter of a century went by before more than passing notice was taken of Sutter's sawmill. The approach of the centennial of the gold discovery, to be celebrated in 1948, aroused new interest; and the California State Park Commission, believing it to be one of California's and the nation's most important historic sites, took steps to acquire it. After many years of negotiation with Perly Munro, ancient Negro janitor in the state capitol in Sacramento, who had secured the property in a tax sale in the late 1880's, it became a state historical monument in 1942. Nine acres in all, it included the hidden mill foundation timbers and most of the tailrace, as well as the rocky piles left by the Chinese and by Bekeart.

Dredging operations across the river from the mill site in 1942 again changed the course of the river, and a new channel to the north left Bekeart's stone monument on dry land on the south bank. An opportunity was thus offered to repair the monument, which had deteriorated as a result of its long battle with the river, and plans were accordingly made by the California Division of Beaches and Parks. The repair work, which was begun during the low water of August 1945, consisted of restoring the misplaced rocks in new cement mortar; also a protective layer of boulders was pushed up from the river with the aid of a bulldozer to protect the base.

The changing of the river channel and the bulldozing resulted in more than saving the monument, for, in the process, the river's secret was again revealed. There, just beneath the surface of the water near the shore, were some of the foundation timbers of the mill. Fearing the effects of vandalism, the state exhumed the visible remains from the river bed and placed them for safe keeping at the Marshall monument upon the hill. As time passed a few more became visible.

The California State Park Commission, through its chairman, the Hon. Joseph R. Knowland, wishing to verify the importance of these timbers called in an impartial group of experts. On December 23, 1946, Dr. R. F. Heizer, assistant professor of Anthropology, and Emanuel Fritz, associate professor of Forestry, University of California, and this author, accompanied by F. Fenenga, a graduate student in Anthropology, Vernon A. Neasham, Jr., and Robert Laws, Jr., journeyed to Coloma and inspected the newly-found timbers with R. S. Coon, district superintendent, California Division of Beaches and Parks. Believing them to be portions of the original structure of the mill, a report was made to that effect on December 31 to Mr. Knowland.

To verify further these findings, Mr. Knowland suggested an archaeological investigation at the site. This, financed personally by him, was conducted during February 3-18, 1947, by the University of California in collaboration with the California State Park Commission and the National Park Service. The exact location of the mill's foundations was determined, as were its dimensions and structural details, thus confirming documentary evidence and Bekeart's excavation. The tailrace was also located with upright timbers still standing. In addition, several hundred artifacts in the form of specimens of gold, coins, miners' boots and shoes, glass, iron, timbers, and related artifacts were found.

One of the important findings of the 1947 excavation was the fact that the spot where Marshall found his first piece of gold, about 200 feet from the west end of the mill, was not on state property. Speaking before an assembled group of dignitaries on February 16, Mr. Knowland recommended that the site be acquired by the State Park Commission in the near future. A museum nearby, to be erected in time for the 1948 celebrations, would house the artifacts and perhaps a small scale replica of the mill.⁷⁰

The centennial of the gold discovery and of the resulting gold rush, to be celebrated in 1948 and 1949, approach. Little did the Coloma editor know in 1854 how true his words would be that "as time progresses, this spot will become more attractive, and consequently numerous visitors will congregate here, to examine the place where gold was first discovered."

PLATE VII

Portion of Herman-Au's map of Coloma in 1857. The mill is not shown, although someone has marked an "X" near where it was supposed to have been. (Courtesy of the California State Library.)

Perhaps the words of a '49er, set to poetry, express our thoughts as well as any:

Yet, the years may chase each other
 Down the rugged steeps of time,
 The world may lose its harmony,
 Life's song its merry rhyme,
 But forever and forever
 The story of the mill
 And the man who dug the mill-race
 Will linger with us still.⁷¹

NOTES

1. H. W. Bigler, "Diary." There are several versions of this diary in existence. The original is owned by members of the Bigler family in Utah, except the pages recording the gold discovery, which are in the library of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco. Bigler's "Diary of a Mormon" (manuscript in Bancroft Library), is essentially a statement made in 1872 by Bigler to H. H. Bancroft, and is based on the original. "Diary of H. W. Bigler in 1847 and 1848" in *Overland Monthly*, X, 2d ser. (Sept. 1887), 233-45, is a revised version made by J. S. Hittell at Bigler's request. A facsimile of Bigler's original diary, containing the January 24 entry, was first reproduced in Hittell's article, "The Discovery of Gold in California," in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, XLI (Feb. 1890), 529. "Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," hereinafter called "Extracts," in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, V (July 1932), 93-100, is partly an edited transcript of the original journal made about 1898 by Bigler, and partly a transcript of the Bancroft manuscript, "Diary of a Mormon," mentioned above.

2. A. Smith, "Diary" (manuscript in the possession of the Bigler family in Utah). A letter written at Manti, Utah, on Feb. 3, 1886, by Smith to J. S. Hittell, now in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, quotes directly from Smith's diary. J. S. Hittell published a version of the diary in *Overland Monthly*, XI, 2d ser. (Feb. 1888), 123-26. Portions of the Smith and Bigler diaries have been reproduced on numerous occasions.

3. J. A. Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary*, hereinafter called *Diary* (San Francisco, 1939), p. 113.

4. J. Bidwell, "California, 1841-1848" (manuscript in Bancroft Library), pp. 226-27.

5. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1888), VI, 26.

6. Bidwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-28.

7. J. W. Marshall, "Account of the Discovery of Gold," in *Hutchings California Magazine*, II (Nov. 1857), 200.

8. J. A. Sutter, "Personal Reminiscences," hereinafter called "Reminiscences" (manuscript in Bancroft Library), p. 160.

9. Sutter, *Diary*, pp. 55, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-72. Mrs. Peter L. Wimmer, in her account in the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, Dec. 19, 1874, says that a sawmill was also contemplated at Battle Creek. This, however, did not materialize because of the Coloma project.

11. Sutter, *Diary*, pp. 73-74. According to a statement made by Marshall to Ogden Squires, Jan. 28, 1865 (manuscript now in the California State Library, Sacramento), the Wimmer children included John, Elijah, a son whose name was not remembered (probably Martin), and M. V. B. Bays (son of Mrs. Wimmer). Mrs. Wimmer stated in the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, cited above, that seven children were with her at Sutter's Fort in 1846. How many went to Coloma in August 1847 is uncertain. Sutter's *Diary*, p. 103, indicates two Wimmer sons going to Hock Farm in December. In 1855, according to the *Empire County Argus*, Coloma, Dec. 29, 1855, there were ten children, including a

daughter Sarah; the latter may have been at the mill site in 1847 and 1848.

12. Sutter, "Reminiscences," p. 162.

13. D. Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (Salt Lake City, 1881), pp. 332-33.

14. Sutter, *Diary*, pp. 74-81. Aside from the construction work at Coloma, Sutter was securing shingles, clapboards, barrel staves, etc., for his grist-mill, and two flat boats, from his lumbering operations elsewhere, as explained in the text.

15. Bigler, "Extracts," pp. 93-94.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

17. Sutter, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

18. Drawings of the mill foundations, forebay, and logway were made by Marshall. These were found in his effects at the time of his death in 1885, and are now in the California State Library. Bigler, *op. cit.*, p. 94, gives the details on the brush dam. See R. F. Heizer, this Report, for technical data on the foundations and tailrace.

19. Sutter, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-08.

20. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, as above.

21. Bigler, *loc. cit.*

22. *Ibid.* See frontispiece for variation.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Smith to Hittell, as above.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Various accounts give a description of this work. In addition to Bigler's "Diary of a Mormon," pp. 160-61, one of the best accounts is given by P. H. Burnett, "Recollections of the Past" (manuscript in Bancroft Library), II, 10-12. J. S. Brown, *California Gold, an Authentic History of the First Find* (Salt Lake City, 1894), pp. 7-8, although written almost 50 years later, is interesting, because Brown was one of the mill workers at the time of the find.

27. This version of the discovery of gold is based on a number of items, including Marshall's "Account of the Discovery of Gold," cited above in Note 7, pp. 199-201; a drawing by Marshall, now in the California State Library; Bigler, "Diary of a Mormon," pp. 62-64; and Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11. Sutter, *op. cit.*, p. 113, records Marshall's arrival at the fort.

28. Sutter, "Reminiscences," pp. 163-68, tells of the tests at Sutter's Fort.

29. Bigler, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-63, and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

30. Marshall may well have had an idea that gold existed in the vicinity of Coloma. Bidwell, whom Marshall knew well, records that gold was found on the American in 1843 by an individual by the name of Ruelle. Bidwell also recorded that Gutierrez, a Mexican, had seen gold on Bear Creek in 1843. When Bidwell visited one of Sutter's lumber camps in July 1845, he tried to find gold, but grew discouraged because of the heat; it later became one of the richest gold-strike regions. See Bidwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-25. Brown states that he discussed with Marshall the possibility of there being gold in the tailrace, when he brought him the plate on January 23. At that time, according to Brown, Marshall indicated to him that he thought there was gold in the vicinity, because of the large quantity of quartz in the region. This Marshall called "the blossom of gold." See Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

31. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, as above. Other versions of the gold discovery appeared from time to time, including the one that Bennett was the original discoverer.

32. Sutter, "Reminiscences," pp. 168-69; Sutter, *Diary*, p. 113; Smith to Hittell, as above.

33. Accounts of Sutter's visit appear in his "Reminiscences," p. 170; Bigler, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66; Smith to Hittell, as above; Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201; Letter from Marshall to C. E. Pickett, January 28, 1856, in J. S. Hittell, *Mining in the Pacific States* (San Francisco, 1861), p. 12; and other sources. His return to Sutter's Fort is recorded in his *Diary*, p. 114.

34. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

35. Bigler, "Extracts," p. 97; Smith to Hittell, as above.
36. Sutter, *Diary*, p. 123. 37. Bigler, *loc. cit.* 38. *Idem.*
39. Sutter, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Other lumber had been sent from Coloma to Sutter's Fort for time to time, including some shingles, but the work had been done by hand (*ibid.*, p. 91).
40. Bigler, *op. cit.*, p. 96. 41. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
42. Sutter, *op. cit.*, p. 116. 43. Sutter, "Reminiscences," pp. 171-73.
44. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 43. 45. Bidwell, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
46. Bigler, *op. cit.*, p. 97; "Diary of a Mormon," pp. 71-72.
47. Bigler, *ibid.*, pp. 73-76.
48. Bigler, "Extracts," p. 100; Sutter, *Diary*, pp. 123-32; Smith to Hittell, as above; and J. Gregson, "Memoirs" (manuscript in Bancroft Library), pp. 124-34.
49. Sutter, *Diary*, p. 137. 50. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
51. Smith to Hittell, as above. 52. Bigler, "Diary of a Mormon," p. 79.
53. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. 54. Bigler, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
55. Sutter, "Reminiscences," p. 190.
56. Report from Col. R. B. Mason to the Adjutant General, Monterey, California, August 17, 1848 (duplicate manuscript in the National Archives), pp. 4, 5. The location of Mason's original maps and report is not known, although they are reproduced in H. Exec. Doc., 30th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1848).
57. P. B. Bekeart, "James Wilson Marshall, Discoverer of Gold, Sutter's Mill, Coloma, El Dorado County, California, Monday, January 24, 1848," in *Quarterly* of the Society of California Pioneers, I (Sept. 1924), 17-30.
58. "Affidavit of John Winters," in G. F. Parsons, *The Life and Adventures of James W. Marshall* (San Francisco, 1935), pp. 130-32, records the details of the sale of the mill.
59. W. M'Ilvaine, Jr., *Sketches of Scenery and Notes of Personal Adventure in California and Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 11.
60. The original of the daguerreotype was made by Carlton E. Watkins about 1853.
61. *Empire County Argus*, Coloma, December 31, 1853.
62. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1854.
63. Reference is made to this in miscellaneous papers, relating to the gold discovery, in the library of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco.
64. A letter from H. W. Bigler to J. S. Hittell, St. George, Utah, March 2, 1893, now in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, tells of getting out the headblocks.
65. *Empire County Argus*, December 9, 1854.
66. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1855.
67. Marshall to Squires, cited above in Note 11.
68. Bekeart, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52. Letters and photographs in the library of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, and in the state library, portray Bekeart's excavation. Portions of the timbers were sent to the Society of California Pioneers, state library, Sutter's Fort, and the Marshall monument at Coloma. See R. F. Heizer, this report, for a more detailed discussion of Bekeart's excavation.
70. See R. F. Heizer, this Report, for detailed accounts of the 1947 excavation.
71. D. R. Leeper, *The Argonauts of "Forty-nine," Some Recollections of the Plains and the Diggings* (South Bend, 1894), p. 96.

The author wishes to express his thanks to Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand, the Society of California Pioneers, the Bancroft Library, the California State Library, the Huntington Library and this Society for their aid in his search for unusual facts and illustrative materials on which to base this study.

Archaeological Investigation of Sutter Sawmill Site in 1947

By ROBERT F. HEIZER

I. INTRODUCTION

NO SINGLE event in California history, except perhaps its original discovery in the sixteenth century, achieves the significance of the discovery of gold in January 1848 by James Wilson Marshall. The scene of this historic event was the sawmill of Capt. J. A. Sutter on the south fork of the American River at a place called Coloma.¹ The circumstances which led to the establishment of the sawmill are detailed in the preceding account by Dr. Neasham. It is, I believe, worth noting that there is a very considerable amount of information in the form of contemporary accounts bearing upon the gold discovery and the personalities involved. But of the sawmill itself there is, with the notable exception of a daguerreotype taken ca. 1853 and several sketches and paintings (some of doubtful accuracy), very little specific information concerning the details of construction of the sawmill. Neither Sutter nor Marshall ever sat down and wrote an account of the building of the mill which contained details of the tools employed, and construction principles and techniques used. It was simply that the discovery of gold itself overshadowed the mill, and information on the sawmill structure was neglected as a subject of reminiscence or direct inquiry. As is so often the case, historical documents may yield remarkably scant information on matters which at a later time appear of obvious significance and importance.

With the state centennial celebrations approaching, and the hundredth anniversary of Marshall's discovery of gold only a year away, the Hon. J. R. Knowland and Dr. Aubrey Neasham checked the historical data and noted the lacuna, mentioned above, concerning specific information on the sawmill structure. It was of course known that Philip C. Bekeart had, in 1924 during a dry season when the river level was extremely low, made excavations at a spot determined by him to be the site of the Sutter sawmill, and had erected a cement and river-boulder monument over what he judged to be the southwest corner of the mill. Bekeart must be given full credit

PLATE I (Facing this page)

Airphoto of south fork of American River taken by Lowell Sumner of the National Park Service, Region Four Office, San Francisco. Bottom of map is north; river flows west. The monument may be seen in center, and to its left is indicated location of the mill and headrace, island and mill dam (*cf.* Mason's Map, Figure 5). Probable course of river in 1847 is shown in white. Arrow points to open excavation where we traced tailrace west of the monument.

for this pioneering work, though many of his conclusions (*e.g.* on the probable size of the mill and identification of many of the pieces which he encountered in excavation) are in error.² With the information at our command when we began excavation, we knew the actual size of the mill and something of its construction. These documentary materials were pulled together by Dr. Neasham who, I think, has the "sense of touch" when it comes to finding pertinent documentary materials—without his archival sleuthing our results would have been deficient.

In August 1945, the monument erected by Bekeart in 1924 showed unmistakable signs of decrepitude, and the State Division of Parks, under direction of Robert S. Coon, District Park Superintendent, spent considerable effort in clearing away the gravel and boulders around the monument to expose, for careful inspection, its foundation. During the course of this clearing, and while bringing in, with a large bulldozer, a quantity of heavy boulders from the upstream shore and river-bottom, a number of wooden timbers lying in a horizontal position were encountered below water level. These were carefully removed and taken to the ranger's house on the hill near where the statue of James Marshall stands.³ Mr. Coon and his men deserve all credit for this salvage work, for many of the timbers which extended out into the main stream-bed would have surely washed away had they not been extracted. It is unfortunate that notes on their location and orientation were not made at the time, but as will be seen later, our own findings in 1947 were such that we were able to make some very good guesses as to the original position of the majority.

On the basis of an inspection trip shortly before Christmas, 1946, at which time we saw the ends of five timbers⁴ lying in about twelve inches of water just upstream from the Bekeart monument, our party recommended that an archaeological investigation of the site be made at the earliest opportunity. The speed with which events occurred after our report was submitted was really remarkable, and February 3, 1947 saw our expedition on its way to Coloma to excavate the mill foundations. We were favored in many ways: a full documentary search by Dr. Neasham had produced much information; the river was lower than at any other time in the past twenty years; our crew was composed of trained archaeologists from the anthropology and history departments at the university; and we received every possible assistance in the way of special equipment through Mr. Coon. Our schedule was as tight as that of a political candidate on a speaking tour — we had fifteen days to do the job, and we were gambling on the dry year and low water. A heavy rain on February 11 and 12 which melted snow in the Sierra caused the water to rise 8 feet in 16 hours; only heroic efforts by our crew and Homer Metcalf, the bulldozer operator, saved the monument itself and our exposed timbers in the riverbed by filling in several hundred cubic yards of sand and gravel upstream from the monument along

the shore (which we had bulldozed out to below river level) and over the timbers in the stream.⁵ This rain came too late to do anything but inconvenience us, since our exposure and mapping of the river timbers had been completed.

Our crew camped on the state property in a 12 by 18 foot frame toolshed with a wood stove and a corrugated tin roof. Breakfast and lunch we managed ourselves, but we had dinner in Coloma at Mrs. Allen Combs'. The cares of the day in the form of cut hands, chilled feet, smashed fingers and concern over whether there would be rain, all vanished under the influence of her excellent meals, and I here acknowledge with thanks her efforts and ascribe to them a measure of our success.

In addition to those already mentioned, we are indebted to many persons for their aid and interest, among whom are: Dr. Robert G. Sproul, President of the University of California, who furnished us with a panel delivery sedan; Newton Grout of Coloma, Deputy Ranger, Marshall Gold Discovery Site; the members of the staff of the Department of Anthropology, University of California; and Carroll D. Hall, Curator of the Sutter's Fort Historical Museum. Adan E. Treganza, Department of Anthropology, University of California, spent valuable time in drawing Figures 1-6, 8-9 and I wish to express my thanks to him for his assistance. Likewise sincere appreciation goes to the members of the crew, F. Fenenga, R. A. Newman, C. E. Smith, Jr., F. A. Riddell, and D. C. Cutter, for their efforts to make the investigation a success.

II. EXCAVATION PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS

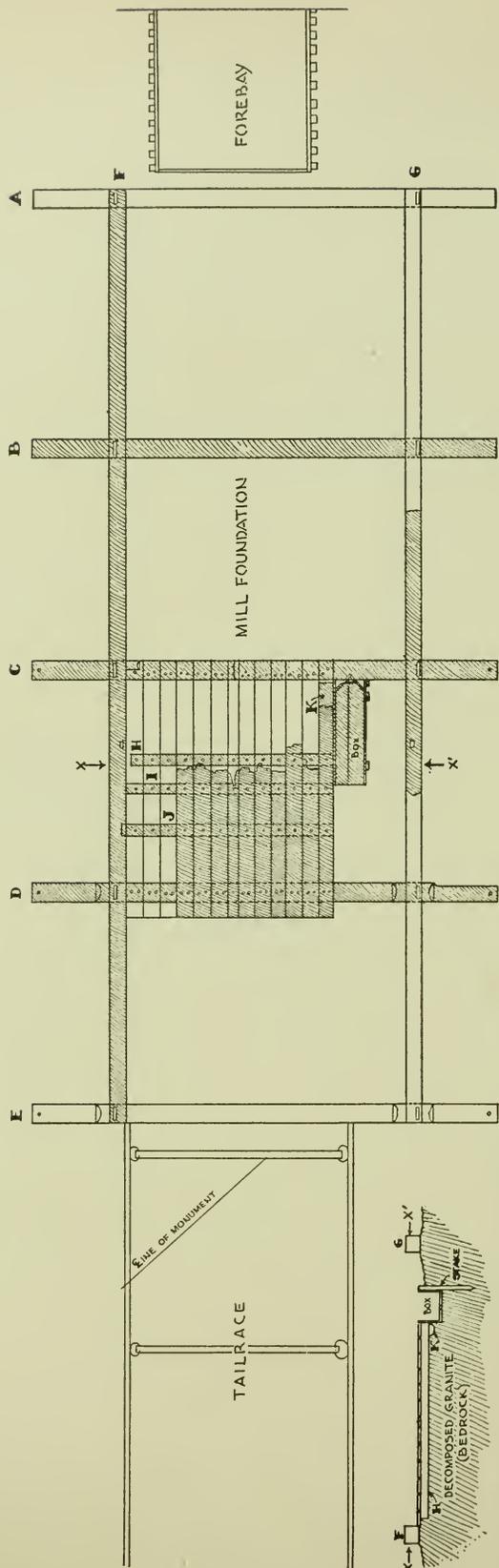
The methods and techniques employed by the archaeologist proved to be as well suited to the excavation of the century-old sawmill foundation as to an Indian shellmound. The problems presented by each are similar in so far as the remains of human activity lie buried and must be uncovered in such a manner that their exposure or removal is recorded and noted with a view to the preparation of an accurate report.

We had hoped to initiate our excavating by clearing the bank area above the stone monument with a bulldozer. This piece of equipment did not arrive until February 10, six days after we had begun to work. For these

PLATE 2 (Facing this page)

Scenes taken during the excavation: **A.** The beginning of work, February 4, 1947; clearing stream shore of boulders. **B.** The pit where end of stringer D was exposed (cf. Plate 4D, E). **C.** Neasham and Fenenga clearing gravel from surface of foundations; monument stands immediately to left. **D.** Excavating the shore upstream from monument; compare this with A to see extent of excavation along bank. **E.** Fenenga (rear) and Newman (bailing) working in tailrace, 160' west of monument. **F.** Bulldozer excavating bank area upstream from monument (note concrete apron in foreground) in search of stringer E, which we did not locate and later determined was extracted by Bekeart in 1924.

six days we were forced to resort to hand labor in removing the heavy boulders which had been brought in in August, 1945 as a protection for the monument (Plate 2). As the heavy stones were pried out, they were either lifted or rolled upstream to form a breakwater, extending into the river, which had the effect of creating relatively still water below in the area where we were digging. Sand and small gravel were shoveled into a wheelbarrow and dumped as fill on the boulder breakwater. Worked upon in the water and along the shore, the timbers which lay on the river-bottom, under about two feet of water, gradually began to emerge as the shore receded and the hip-booted excavators carefully cleared off the gravel, sand, and rocks lying upon them. It would be difficult to find archaeological remains which posed more problems of exposure. The large timbers, which were hewn from whole logs, extended from under the bank out into the stream. Running at right angles to these heavy beams was plank flooring which, although it had preserved its physical structure perfectly, was nevertheless about the consistency of medium-hard cheese. An incautious shovel thrust would cut a gouge in this wood, and great care was continually necessary to prevent injury to it. The planked area extended between stringers C and D and presumably, though not certainly, once extended to timbers B and E. This planking was clear sugar pine a full-inch thick and 14 inches wide, and, when we exposed it, was seen to be attached to the cross timbers (D, H, I, J) by means of wooden pegs (Figure 8F) driven into augered holes. This planked area (Figure 1) was 14 feet wide and ran from the edge of timber F to past the centerline of the foundation. Between timbers C and D its inner edge lay alongside the "box" which was in turn attached to the edge of timber K. As we cleared the gravel overburden on top of the planking, and explored the area which lay inside the foundations between girder G and the edge of the planking, numerous artifacts of metal, glass, leather, and wood appeared. Most of this dug material was put through a half-inch mesh screen, and many small objects which otherwise would have escaped notice were recovered. As we cleared the timbers and planking we mapped them on a plane-table survey of the millsite area. This mapping was brought up to date by the close of each day's work, since we were ever conscious that a sudden rain might force us to leave the riverbank, and also because our map furnished a basis of reference and discussion of the question as to the identification of that part of the mill foundations where we were excavating. There were many exciting moments during these days when choice artifacts such as the bullet mold or the French franc bearing the date 1848 turned up, or when we measured the distance between the wide notches of stringer D and found it to be 20 feet, the width of the mill as given by Marshall in his sketch (Plate I), and knew definitely that we were in the mill foundation itself. The heavy rains of February 11-12 caused the water to rise rapidly, and we were forced to



GROUND PLAN OF SUTTER'S SAW-MILL

NORTH-SOUTH CROSS SECTION AT TIMBER H BETWEEN POINTS X, X'

RECOVERED TIMBERS

SCALE
0' 5' 10' 15' 20' FEET

cover over the timbers lying in the river to prevent them from washing away; but our mapwork was completed and we said farewell to the timbers without the feeling that we had neglected their full recording.

On February 10 the bulldozer went to work on the riverbank below the monument, and it was not long before its activities disclosed the edge of an upright plank in about the place we had expected to locate the tailrace. Some rapid shovelwork soon showed that we had, indeed, located the plank-sided tailrace, which we determined as 14 feet wide. A long day's work on the part of the bulldozer effectively cleared the gravel overburden, in some places 10 feet deep (Plate 2E), from the raceway, whose outlines we determined and traced by the planks and supporting posts the bulldozer encountered. From the edge of the monument to the edge of the state property, a distance of about 160 feet, we noted evidence of the tailrace. The high water of February 12-13 filled the open pit excavated by the bulldozer, and this delay was responsible for our inability completely to excavate the tailrace, so that its depth is unknown to us.

Work came to a close on the night of February 17 when the bulldozer finished filling in the tailrace excavation. We left Coloma early in the morning, February 18, our excavation concluded.

The permanent records of the archaeological excavation comprise two daily journals, a set of field notes, and a large number of photographs, both black-and-white and color pictures. In addition, 300 feet of 16 mm. movie color film was exposed, and this film furnishes a brief pictorial review of our activities and findings at the millsite.

III. INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Figure 1 represents what we believe to be a fairly accurate representation of the grillage or foundation of the sawmill. The hachured pieces are those which we found *in situ* (stringers C, D, H-K; planking and "box") or were taken out of the river bank and stream bed in 1945 (girders F, G; stringer B). The forebay is taken from Marshall's drawing (Plate I), and the tailrace is a projection of that found by us in 1947. The outer ends of timbers C, D,

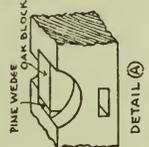
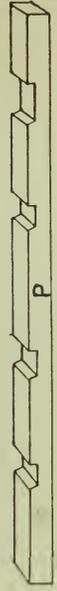
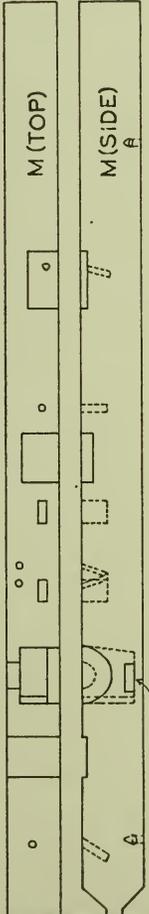
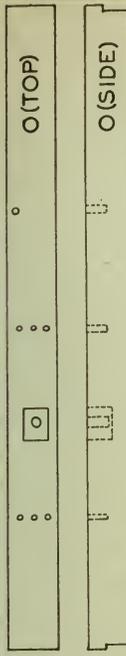
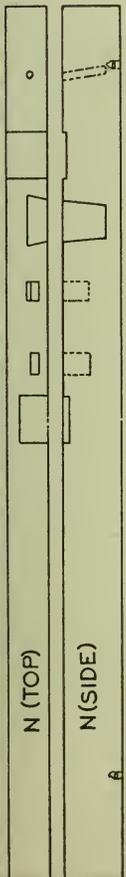
FIGURE 1 (See opposite page)

Foundation or grillage of Sutter sawmill. Hachured pieces are those found by us, or pieces excavated in August 1945 whose original position we could determine with accuracy. Stringers A-E lie north-south at a distance of 15' from each other. Girders F, G are 60' long. Note secondary stringers H-J, which supported planking between main stringers D-E. K is a half-round timber (*cf.* detail at lower left), which marks edge of planking and to which one side of the "box" is attached. Forebay is shown as indicated in Marshall's drawing. Tailrace shown here is an extension toward the mill of that found by us. Before Bekeart's excavation in 1924, the portion shown here lay under area now occupied by monument. The heavy concrete apron or slab occupying surface south of monument would probably yield some evidence of south edge of tailrace as shown here.

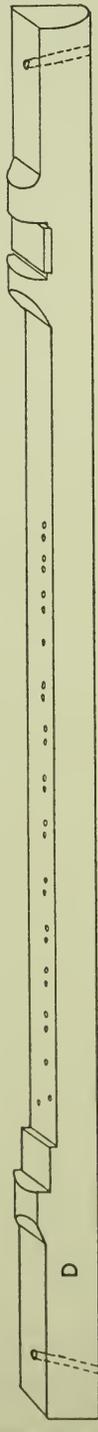
H, I, and J were visible in the water when we began our work; as we carried away the boulders and gravel from the bank which lay over the rest of these timbers, the planking was encountered. A hole was dug in the bank at the spot where we believed the shore end of stringer D lay. This hole was bulkheaded with boards and sandbags and necessitated continual bailing of the river water seeping through the gravel. The end of D was exposed and photographed (Plate 4D-E), and we were then able to measure the distance between the notches. The distance from the outer edge of each notch was 20 feet. The outer end of stringer C was broken (see Figure 2) and we were unable to secure the notch measurement at that time. We determined later that the broken end had been extracted in August, 1945 and was preserved at the deputy warden's house near the Marshall statue on the hill. When the two pieces were joined (not actually, but in a scaled drawing) it was determined that the outer edges of these notches were also 20 feet apart. We now had established a measurement which checked with

FIGURE 2 (See opposite page)

Various timbers from the sawmill. An asterisk marks those found by us in 1947; remainder are some of those removed in August 1945. **B***. Main foundation stringer (*cf.* Figure 1): length, 31'; outside edge of notches, 20' apart; notches, 13" wide, 4.5" deep. This piece shows no evidence that planking was attached. Broken at right end; dotted lines are reconstruction of complete piece. **C***. Main foundation stringer (*cf.* Figure 1): length, 29' 9"; outside edges of notches, 20' apart; notches, 12" wide, 2" deep. Left end taken from millsite in 1945; right end found by us in river-bed in 1947. Wooden pins still in holes; planking which they once held has disappeared. Note flattened, unplanked surface immediately to left of right-hand notch. This feature remains unexplained. **D***. Main foundation stringer (*cf.* Figure 1): length, 29' 0"; outside edges of notches, 20' apart; notches, 13" wide and 5" deep. Note "step" for flush planking just to right of left-hand notch, and flattened, unplanked surface to left of right-hand notch. Right notch was cut too deep and contains a wooden shim, length, 14"; width, 10"; thickness, 1.5". **F**. Main longitudinal girder of north edge of mill foundation which rested in notches of girders A-E: length, 60' (including restored end); width, 12"; height, 11". Top surface bears rectangular daps to receive tenoned bases of five main uprights which supported mill floor (*cf.* Figure 9). **G**. Same as F. Reconstructed portions shown by dotted lines. Actual piece, 18' 3" long. **M**. Original position and function unknown: length, 19' 2"; width, 12"; height, 15". Top surface has wooden pins, auger holes, rectangular seats for timber ends, mortises, and two semicircular notches on sides which appear to have once been bearing seats for an axle, but were later made functionless by filling the deep hole between them with two wedges, as shown in detail in A. This piece may originally have been attached, by the angled pins on bottom edge near each end, across two of the foundation stringers. **N**. Similar to M, although not an exact duplicate in all details. Length, 18' 4.5"; width, 10"; height, 14". **O**. Original position and function unknown. Length, 13' 6"; width, 13" height, 9". Note two rows of three wooden pins; between them a rectangular dap filled with an oak bearing with center hole. **P**. Original position and function unknown. Length, 12'; width, 6"; height, 4.5". Probably served as a guide for braces. The notches agree closely with those of the "guide," shown as L in Figure 3.



SEE DETAIL (A)



2' SCALE

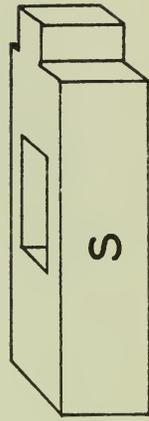
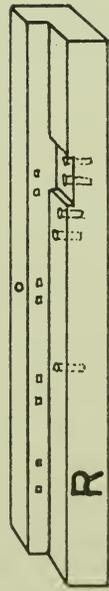
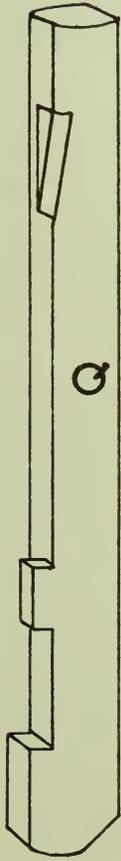
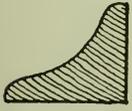
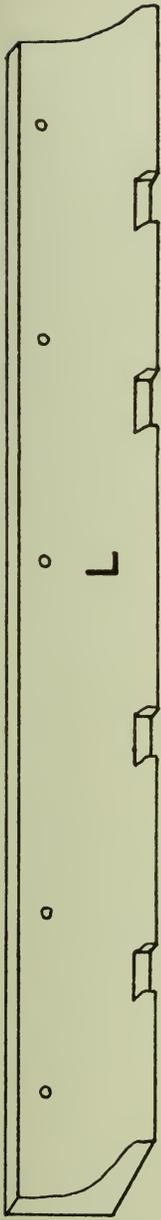


4' SCALE

the Marshall sketch (Plate I), where the width of the mill is noted as 20 feet. Identification of still another foundation stringer (shown in Figures 1 and 2 as "B") among the 1945 timbers was possible because of its general size, length, and the fact that the outer edges of the notches were 20 feet apart. This piece may have been in either the B or A position. We now had three of the cross stringers upon which the long girders (Figures 1 and 2, F, G) rested in the end notches. The next step was to plot, on our gradually evolving plan of the foundation, timbers B-D, H-K. Girder F (53 feet, 10 inches long) had one end broken off, the missing portion amounting to about 6 feet. This piece was originally 60 feet long, the length of the mill as given by Marshall in his drawing (Plate I). That girder F had once rested in the notches of stringer A-E was established by the fact that its width was such that it fitted into these notches, and that the mortised holes along its top were spaced at intervals of 15 feet, the distance separating stringers C and D. These last two cross timbers remain as the only ones lying in their original position, and their spacing was, as noted above, the key to the length of the mill. We were now in possession of enough facts to reconstruct the grillage of the mill structure (Figure 1). Girder F with its five main mortises, each 15 feet apart, was evidence that there had been five cross stringers, two of which (C, D) we had *in situ*, and a third (B) was in existence but of indeterminate position, since it had been extracted without notation in 1945. It was remembered by no less than five witnesses with whom we talked⁶ that girder F had been taken out of the river-bottom in nearly the same position as that shown in Figure 1. All were agreed that the end lay near the concrete and boulder monument. This gave us the clue that there had been only one cross timber downstream from stringer D, an inference which we put to the test by excavating not only along the line where stringer E would have lain, but, in addition, at a point 15 feet

FIGURE 3 (See opposite page)

Various timbers from Sutter sawmill; all were excavated from mill foundations in August 1945. **L.** Wheel guide or "splash plate": length, 12' 0"; width, 12"; height, 14". Attached by wooden pins, whose holes are visible below upper margin. Notches on lower edge correspond well with those of P (Figure 2), and some functional inter-connection may be assumed. **Q.** Short timber with notch similar to those on each end of stringers A-E (*cf.* Figures 1-2): length, 8' 7"; width, 13"; height at center, 8". For possible function, see discussion on p. 144. **R.** Stepped timber containing numerous holes for wooden pins: length, 6' 7"; width at base, 9.5"; maximum height, 9". Of unknown function. **S.** Short upright with tenoned base, with mortise hole inside for receiving a cross beam: length, 3' 5.5"; width, 11"; height, 11". The open mortise is 6.5" wide, 16" long, and 7" deep. **T.** Timber with tenoned base and bevelled end, which probably served as a brace or upright joist. Now in possession of the Society of California Pioneers, and recovered for that organization by Philip Bekeart from the millsite in August and September 1924: length, 12' 7"; width, 8.5"; thickness, 6". Tenon is 2.5" x 6" x 4" and slightly off-center.



2'
SCALE

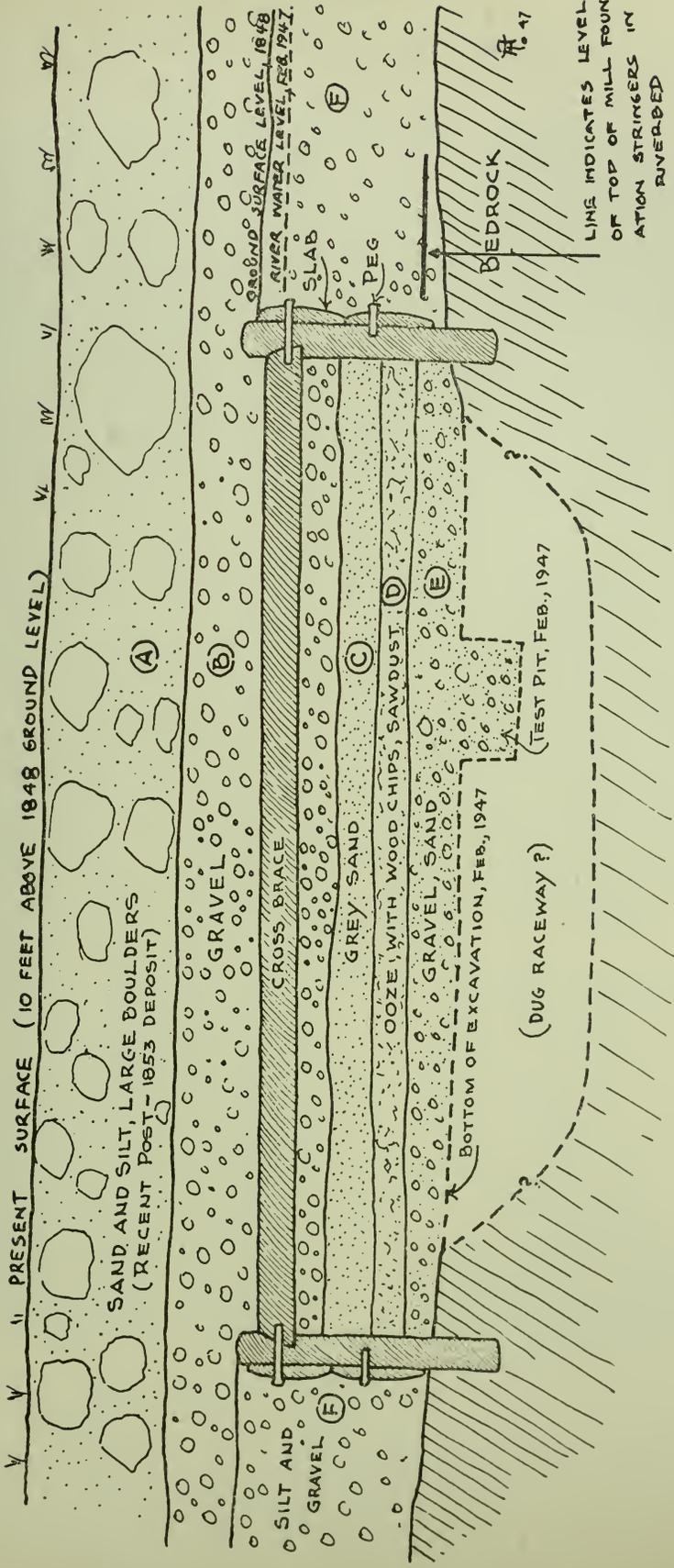
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farther on from the projected position of E. We found no evidence of E, and the reason was clearly apparent — Bekeart's 1924 excavation had encountered this timber and he had removed it.⁷ The digging at a point 30 feet beyond stringer D (i.e. 15 feet beyond the calculated position of E) yielded only evidence of the tailrace. We now knew that the monument erected in 1924 was situated, as Bekeart had stated, on the lower (downstream) end of the mill. This accounts for four of the five cross stringers, and the conclusion is inevitable that the fifth occupied the position shown by A in Figure 1. We trenched the river-bottom upstream from timber C, but without finding any evidence of foundation pieces. They have disappeared either as a result of the shore-cutting of the river or through removal by the bulldozer in 1945. There remains a possibility that timber Q (Figure 3) may represent one of a pair which served instead of our projected stringer A. Two of these short pieces would have given a solid bearing surface for the long girders (F, G). There may have been some good reason for not installing, at one point, a solid, continuous cross-timber; perhaps because it would have interfered with the installation or operation of some of the mill machinery (saw, crank, pitman, eccentric, or wheel). It does not appear possible to decide, with our limited information, whether timber Q (and its mate) once occupied the position of either A or B as indicated in Figure 1.

Since the monument and its protective concrete slab or apron now occupies the spot where the tailrace began and the mill ended, we are unable to give any details of the mill foundation at this point. It is significant that the planked area between stringers C and D is 14 feet wide, and that the tailrace

FIGURE 4 (See opposite page)

Cross section of tailrace, showing upright posts, notched near top to receive cross brace, which is pinned through post and two lengthwise planks pinned to post. Race originally dug through stratum (F), the top of which was ground surface in 1848. Depth to which race was dug was not determined because of lack of time and seepage water; our excavation was as deep as lower edge of bottom side plank, except for gravel-filled test pit as indicated. Gravel stratum (E) is fill, since race is stated to have been dug through soft bedrock. Level (D) is gray silt ooze smelling of decayed vegetal material; it contains wood chips, small pieces of wood exhibiting saw marks, and sawdust—material of cultural origin very similar to wood refuse found in mill foundation stringers. This stratum may represent accumulation in silted-in tailrace immediately subsequent to final cessation of work at the mill. Stratum (C) is clean sand derived from river overflow. (B) is gravel, probably derived from placer activities after 1853; occasional pieces of glazed pottery of Chinese origin occur in this stratum, probably marking period of Chinese placer activity. (A) is river silt, sand and boulders deposited since cessation of early mining activities. It seems probable (pp. 146-47) that tailrace had deep center channel more or less as indicated here, although this is conjectural; theory supported by fact that level of tops of stringers C and D is about the same as lower edge of lowest siding plank. Since top of bedrock is also at this point and since we know that mill foundation rested on bedrock, the tailrace must have been deeper than foundation level in order for race water to have been carried off.



LINE INDICATES LEVEL OF TOP OF MILL FOUNDATION STRINGERS IN RIVERBED

PRESENT SURFACE (10 FEET ABOVE 1848 GROUND LEVEL)

SAND AND SILT, LARGE BOULDERS (RECENT POST-1853 DEPOSIT)

GRAVEL (B)

CROSS BRACE

GREY SAND (C)

OOZE WITH WOOD CHIPS, SAWDUST (D)

GRAVEL SAND (E)

BOTTOM OF EXCAVATION, FEB., 1947

(DUG RACEWAY?)

TEST PIT, FEB., 1947

BEDROCK

GROUND SURFACE LEVEL, 1848
RIVER WATER LEVEL, FEB. 1947

SLAB
PEG

N. 47

V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII

SILT AND GRAVEL (F)

at the point nearest the mill where we could measure it was also 14 feet wide. The planked area did not cover the whole width of the foundation between girders F and G, and a projection of its borders fits exactly the sides of the tailrace. This indicates that the purpose of the planking was to carry off the water which had already been used to turn the wheel. The planking had been cut off below stringer D, and we did not have time to continue our excavations beyond this point. The "box" which lay below timber C was open at the top and end. It was made of sawed planks, was full of gravel and a number of artifacts, but its function is not known to us. There was no indication that it had ever extended further toward timber D, nor was there evidence that it had been covered or that the end had been closed, though the latter seems probable, the weight and pressure of the gravel and water being sufficient to have pushed off an end board long ago. Resting inside on the bottom of this "box" was a 3-inch layer of sawdust. The flat surfaces of stringers C and D between the edge of the planking and the edge of girder G show no evidence of having been planked, and we may assume that the planking edge along timber K originally had a raised border (now disappeared) to prevent the waste water from flowing over and undermining the foundation sills.

The tailrace (Figure 4) may be briefly described as a ditch outlined with cut slab siding with the rounded, bark-covered side out and the flat sawed surface inside. These slabs, some of them up to 30 feet long, were double and lay lengthwise, edge to edge. They were supported by short posts, 3 to 4 feet long, which were set upright inside the race. The slabs were pegged to these posts. Extending across the race were braces of small round logs, from 4 to 8 inches in diameter (Plate 3C), which were pegged into notches near the top of the short uprights. We were unable, because of seepage water and press of time, to determine the depth of the tailrace. It was probably several feet deep. By use of an alidade and leveling rod we determined that the bottom of the lower siding slab was at about the same level as the top surface of the foundation timbers (C and D) lying in the

PLATE 3 (Facing this page)

A. Post and slab plank border of north side of tailrace, 30' west of edge of concrete slab of monument; notice notch to receive cross brace (*cf.* Figure 4). **B.** Same as A, at distance of 130' west of concrete slab; in place of a round post, thick rounded slabs are used here. **C.** South edge of board-sided tailrace at distance of 160' west of concrete slab; post and cross brace are both made of longitudinally sawed log quarters. **D.** Tailrace immediately west of concrete slab full of seepage water; note posts and slab planking of north side of tailrace; river, dredger piles and west corner of monument in background. **E.** Looking downstream past monument during high water of February 13; to left (south) of monument can be seen floodwater-filled tailrace excavation. **F.** Visitor's day (Sunday, February 16, 1947), with scale model of mill foundation in foreground and visitors (left to right): J. R. Knowland; State Senator Dillinger; newspaper reporter; Dr. T. D. McCown.

river. This might indicate that, as the race approached its outlet at the river, the increase in fall, accompanied by increased velocity of the water, would result in the deepening of the channel by erosion. The fact that near the mill the tailrace was 14 feet wide, lessening to 12.5 feet at a distance of 160 feet, bears out this supposition, as the deepened channel would automatically reduce the width requirement of the race. Marshall probably counted on this familiar process in his planning of the mill.

As shown in Figure 5, the tailrace had a tendency to curve slightly to the north. This illustration is a scale enlargement of Col. R. B. Mason's map which appeared in the House Executive Documents, Thirtieth Congress, Second Session. The original was probably a reasonably accurate instrument survey; but if the position of the mill structure is assumed correct, the actual course of the tailrace which we noted does not conform to that shown by Mason.

Figure 4 shows a cross-section of the tailrace as noted by us, and Plate 3 contains photographs of the boarded sides and cross braces.

IV. THE SAWMILL STRUCTURE

Having established certain facts in regard to the foundation of the sawmill frame, it may now be of interest to outline the main features of the mill structure. In this we are assisted by several pictorial documents, the most important of which are the Watkins daguerreotype of 1853 (Plate VIa); James Marshall's undated drawing (Plate I); John Wesley Jones' drawing based on his daguerreotype of 1850 (Plate Va); and several sketches (Plates IVa-b, Vb) made by Hutton and others.

The foundation (Figures 1 and 2) consisted of five stringers (A-E) lying in a north-south direction on bedrock parallel to each other at 15 foot intervals. These were large sugar pine logs,^{7a} sawed square at each end and with notches in the top surface near each end. One of these (B) is essentially an unworked log except for the cut ends, notches, and slightly flattened bottom. Two others (C, D) are partly squared, and have a flattened upper surface upon which was laid and pinned (i.e. pegged) the planking. About one foot from each end of timbers B, C, D, there is an auger hole (1.5 inches in diameter) running on an incline downward toward the end of the log. The notches near the ends of these three stringers are simple flat-bottomed notches, an indication that the long girders (F, G) running in an east-west direction simply rested in these notches and were not attached in any way to the cross timbers. Since the two long side-girders (F, G) are straight, and because timbers C, D, H-K lay within an inch or two of being level with each other, we consider it established that the foundation was level. At intervals of 15 feet along the top surface of girders F, G are dapped rectangular holes measuring 2.5 inches wide by 11.5 inches long by 5 inches deep. Except for the two (see Figure 1) between stringers C and D, each rectangular dapped hole lies directly over the notch of the five underlying

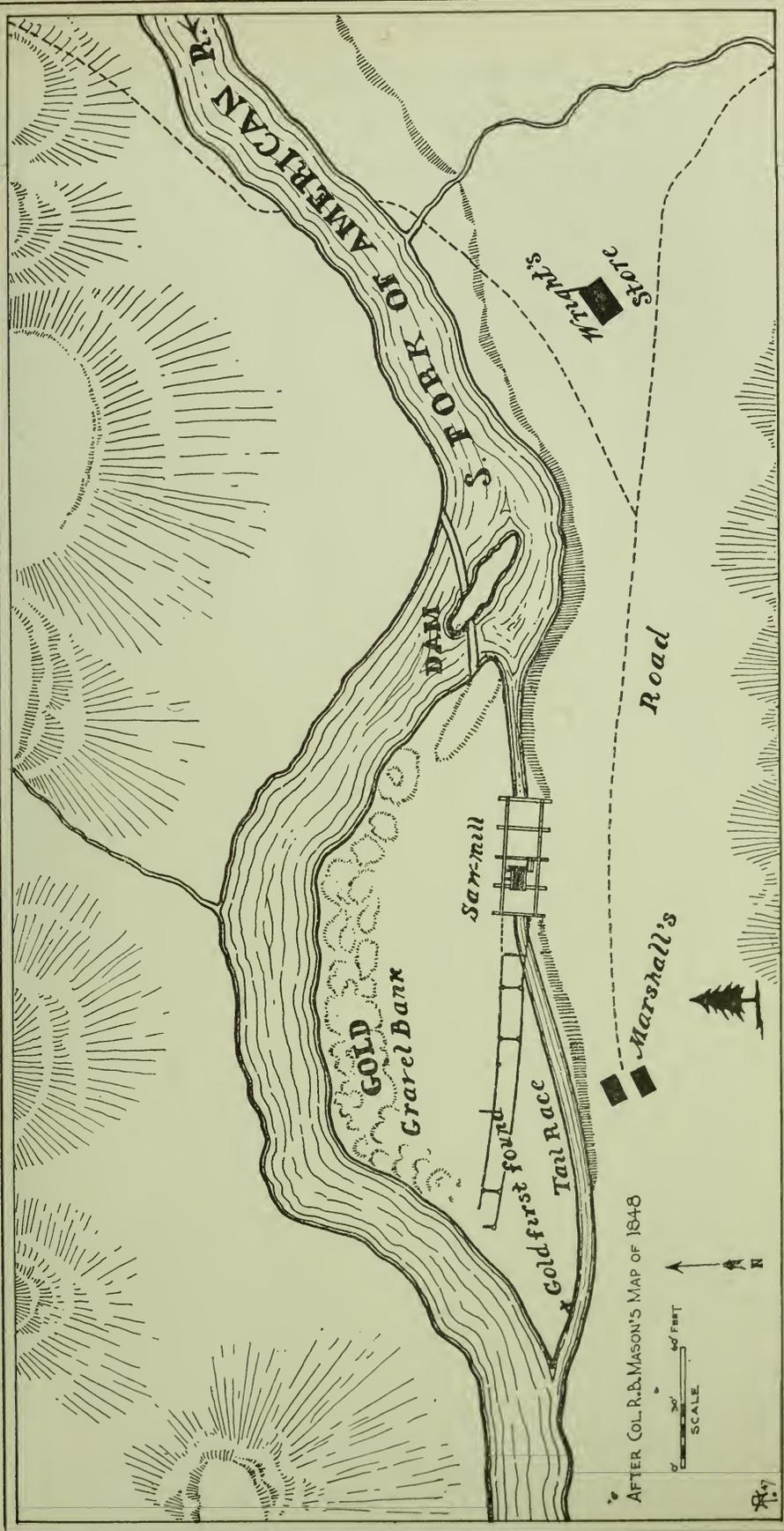
stringers (A-E). In these holes were placed the five square joists or uprights which had tenons cut out at the bottom to fit the rectangular daps. These uprights, according to a notation on the Marshall drawing (Plate I), were 18 feet long. Along the top of the five uprights on each side ran a 60 foot plate, and across the ends about two feet below the lengthwise plate was set a heavy cross beam, joined at each end to a corner upright by means of a mortise and tenon fastened by several wooden pins.

Each of the five joists or uprights was well braced to give it stability (Figure 9). The corner upright had 45-degree knee braces extending to the cross beam and the longitudinal plate; and to counteract any tendency to outward thrust, a brace extended from the end of the stringer to the outer face of the joist. The base of this brace was held by a heavy iron bolt or pin, which was put through the inclined auger hole near the end of the stringer. Each joist had a similar brace at the outside base and two knee braces at the top, those of the three central uprights being attached to the longitudinal plate, and the four corner joists held with knee braces as described above. Finally, between each joist and the neighboring one were long X braces, which extended diagonally from the top to the base of the opposite joist and were notched at the center where they crossed.

On top of the lengthwise girders were set the heavy floor joists. These were laid on 3-foot centers, as nearly as can be judged from the Watkins daguerreotype and the Marshall drawing. The logway,⁸ composed of heavy timbers 20 or 30 feet long and laid on 5-foot centers (see Plates I and II), was made by attaching one end of the timbers to the longitudinal edge girder and letting the other end rest on the ground. We know that the south side of the mill had a fairly high cutbank next to it (see Mason's map in Figure 5), and it is possible that the logway was level with the mill floor. On the other hand, Marshall's drawing, notwithstanding its rough perspective, seems to indicate an inclined logway, and the Watkins daguerreotype also appears to give it a slope. The logway was not over 30 feet wide, since it extended between the southeast corner post and the center post. From

FIGURE 5 (See opposite page)

Enlargement of Col. R. B. Mason's map of site of Sutter sawmill, showing location of gold discovery of January 1848 (X on map). Exact outlines of sawmill structure on Mason's map are here replaced with a diagram of foundation timbers as shown in Figure 1. Mason's location of tailrace does not agree with actual tailrace as found and noted by us. Present river course follows race up to mill, the south bank of river lying over north ends of remaining foundation timbers, and continuing past mill north of race found by us. Because of great alterations in past century in local topography, as a result of early gold placering and gold dredging, it is difficult to determine just where errors in Mason's map lie. The map is probably to be regarded as a sketch map, inaccurate in most details, but generally true as to proportionate distances. Compare with Plate 1.



AFTER COL. R. B. MASON'S MAP OF 1848



R. 47

this it may be concluded that logs over 30 feet in length were not sawed in the mill.⁹

The forebay or penstock lay just ahead of the mill. It was a plank-bottomed and plank-sided flume for gathering the headrace water, and was closed at the end with a gate for releasing or shutting off the water to turn or stop the wheel. Marshall's drawing is our only evidence of its size, which is given as 50 feet long and 10 feet wide. No archaeological evidence of the forebay was noted, since it lay at a point which is now the deep center channel of the river.¹⁰

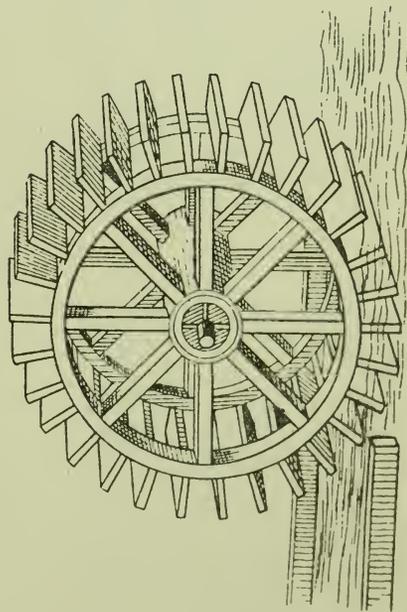
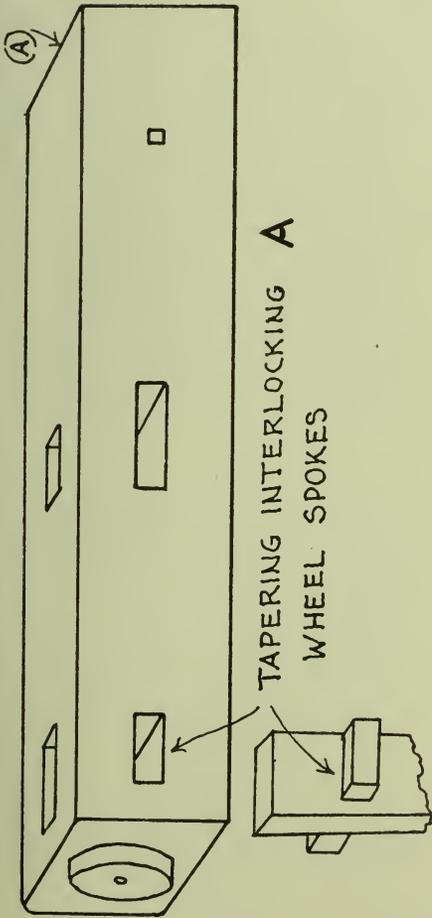
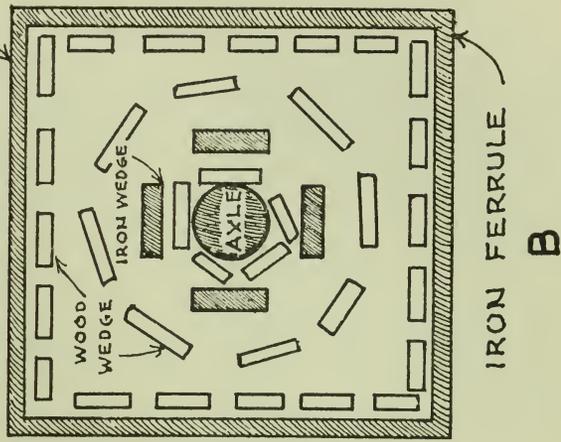
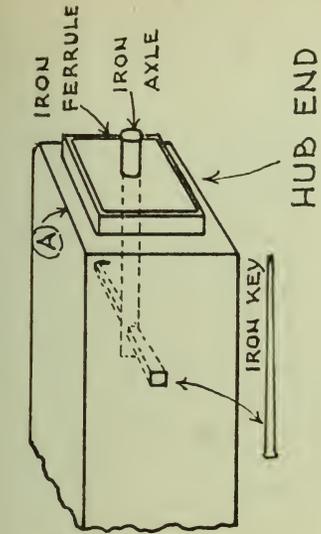
All of the above features (foundation, joists, mill floor, logway and forebay) were completed by the time of Marshall's gold discovery late in January 1848. In addition, the race, which cut across the bend of the river, had been dug. The gold discovery, as Dr. Neasham has pointed out, did not interfere immediately with further construction and completion of the sawmill.

Above the mill floor, which was 18 feet above the foundation, was built the second story. Along each side, their bases resting upon the 60-foot long plates, were three uprights to support the roof. These were, to judge from the Watkins daguerreotype, 11.5 feet long. Along their tops on each side ran long plates, upon which rested and to which were attached the rafters of the truss roof (Figure 9). The peak of the roof was 19.5 feet above the mill floor and 37.5 feet above the foundation girders. Cross braces were placed to run between the opposite corner posts and center posts. These features are shown most clearly in Figure 9.

In the front of the mill (see Plate Va) was the undershot waterwheel of which no details as to construction, size, or position are known. The only recorded fact is a mention of a "flutterwheel" in the accounts of Bigler, Brown, and Leeper (see p. 111 in Dr. Neasham's report). In Figure 6C is reproduced a flutterwheel of the type in common use in Marshall's day. The size of the wheel is a matter of doubt, though what is probably to be identified as the splash board or guide (Figure 3L) has been worn smooth by a wheel, and its width of 12 feet suggests that the flutterwheel was this wide. The wheel's diameter is unknown, though we believe on the basis of timbers M, N, and P (Figure 2) that it may also have been 12 feet. The only picture of the mill which shows the wheel is Jones' sketch taken from a daguerreotype of 1850 (Plate Va). The wheel is in the front of the mill,

FIGURE 6 (See opposite page)

Waterwheel hub excavated from river-bottom near millsite, but not of certain attribution to this mill. **A.** Hub: length, 4' 3"; 9.5" square. Note rectangular slots which held spokes for wheel. End, with wedges, square ferrule, and keyed gudgeon, was subject to strain, and gudgeon may originally have been much longer. **B.** Detail of end bound with square iron ferrule. **C.** Flutterwheel (after David Craik, *op. cit.*, Figure 22).



and looks as though it might be our estimated 12 feet in diameter, but its width is not indicated in the sketch. What may have been the hub of the wheel is shown in Figure 6. This piece, now owned by Mr. Grout, was dredged from the river-bottom somewhere downstream from the mill. It is a square hub with pairs of slightly tapered slots, an iron axle held firm by a metal key passing through a hole near the end of the axle, a square flange (bound with an iron ferrule) at one end, and a round flange at the other. The wedging, square ferrule and keyed axle suggest that this end was subject to strain, and it seems possible that this was the hub of one of a pair of 4-spoked waterwheels, which could be geared together by slipping a heavy collar over the square ferrules to move the wheels in unison. This piece is certainly a hub for a flutterwheel (compare Plate 5 and Figure 8), but whether it was part of the Sutter sawmill remains conjectural.

The saw, as may be seen in several sketches made in 1849 and 1850, was situated at about the center of the mill. The straight saw (Figure 8A), recovered by Bekeart in 1924 from the mill foundation and now in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers, is 6 feet 4.5 inches long and 4.75 to 5.75 inches wide. It was probably mounted in a frame called a "gate," which slid up and down in grooves or slots in two upright joists ("fender posts"); the latter were based on the foundation timbers and were attached at their tops to the high cross beam extending between the second-story center posts. This is the "English Gate" type of saw, and was the standard type of sawmill in the United States around the middle of the nineteenth century (compare Plate 5 and Figure 8). Another common method of hanging the saw dispensed with the gate. It was called the "Mulley Saw," and its features are well described by Craik.¹¹

The saw was moved by a crank¹² (compare Figure 7A), which was attached to the hub of the waterwheel. As the wheel turned, the crank moved a vertical wooden eccentric arm (the "pitman") up and down. The top of this arm was attached by a movable hinge ("pitman irons"; see Figure 7D) to the lower end of the saw or the saw gate. In the Sutter's Fort Historical Museum in Sacramento is a pitman iron almost identical to that shown in Figure 7D. It is said to be from the Sutter sawmill. As the wheel moved, the saw performed 100 to 130 strokes a minute and cut on the down stroke.

PLATE 4 (Facing this page)

A. Views of central portion of top of timber M (*cf.* Figure 2), timber F in rear. **B.** Timber M, showing detail A of Figure 2. **C.** Timber N, showing dovetailed open notch in side. **D.** South end of foundation stringer D; note auger hole 1' from end, notch, and wooden shim in notch. **E.** Same as D; scale, 6" rule. **F.** Roof sheathing of Bay State House built in 1850 by Albert Mosely and now owned by Mrs. Cora Winje. These boards were cut in the Sutter Mill. They are about 1" thick; vary in width from 13" to 20", in length from 8' to over 25', and show parallel straight saw marks from a gate or mulley saw, such as that recovered by Bekeart from mill foundations in 1924 (*cf.* Figure 8A).

The log rested on a long sliding carriage, which had at each end a heavy wood piece laid across the frame (cf. Plate 5 A-B). These heavy pieces were called "headblocks." After the log was cut to within about three inches of the end, the carriage was automatically stopped and drawn back for a fresh cut.¹³

There must have been a considerable amount of machinery in the mill to move the carriage and control the flow of water for the wheel from the forebay, but of all this we have no direct evidence of an archaeological or

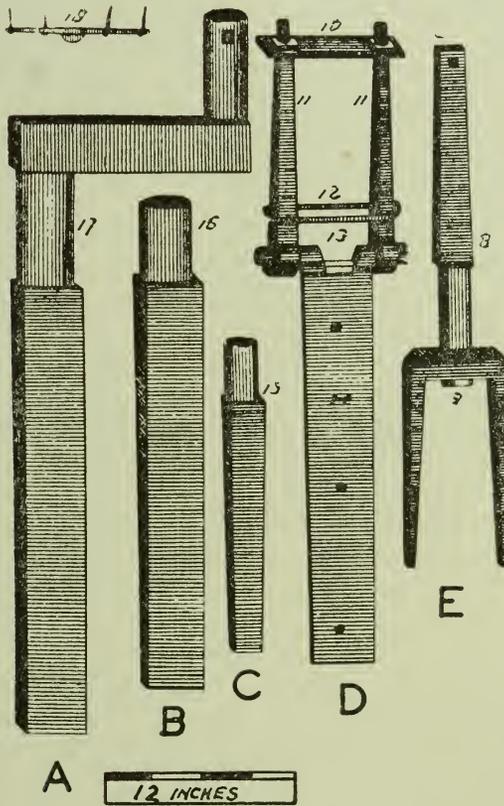


FIGURE 7

Mill irons of the Sutter period, but not from the Sutter sawmill. A. Crank, 3.5' long. B, C. Iron gudgeons (short axles or wheel shafts), lengths 2.5' and 1.6'. D. Pitman iron used to attach pitman (Nos. 12, 13 of Plate 5a) to lower end of saw or saw gate: length, 3.3'. E. Large joint-gudgeon with fork for attachment. For further explanation see Oliver Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-53; reproductions here from *his* Plate XXIV.

documentary nature. In view of the obvious similarities in construction features between the Sutter sawmill and the two plans reproduced here (Plate 5 and Figure 8) from the published works of Craik and Jones, which date from about the same period, it may be suggested that the mechanical parts of the Jones plan were very probably similar in principle, though not necessarily identical in pattern, to those of the Sutter sawmill.¹⁴

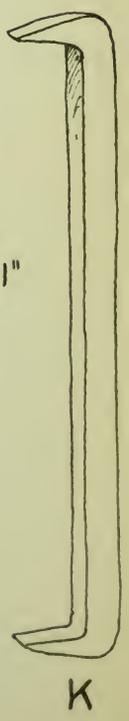
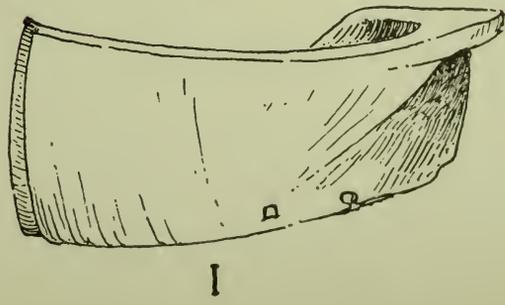
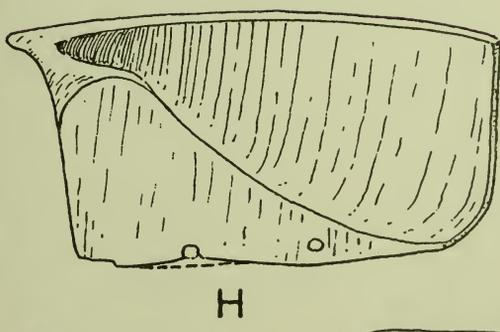
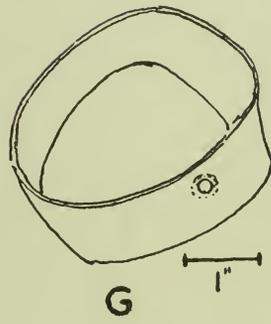
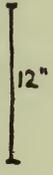
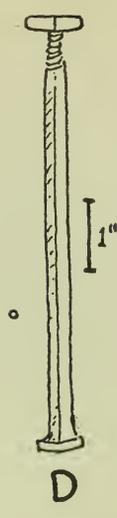
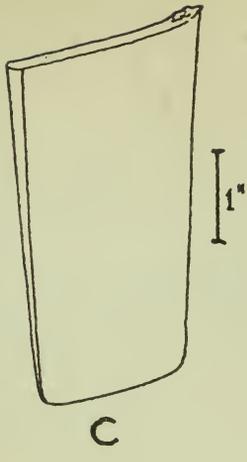
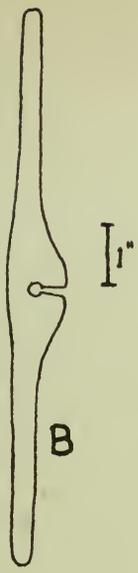
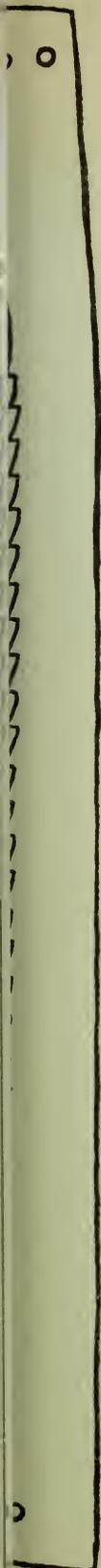
V. CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

It is quite clear that the Sutter sawmill was an average example of mills of the time. A survey of several books dealing with mill construction of the first half of the nineteenth century has demonstrated this.¹⁵ Perhaps on the frontier, as Coloma was in 1847, many necessary tools and skilled labor were lacking, and there was a certain amount of makeshift construction. But taken as a whole the Sutter mill was a good job of rough construction, and the mere fact that it operated for several years is sufficient evidence that its builders and designers deserved the name of millwrights. Heavy timber construction employed carpentry techniques which have in recent times largely been supplanted by the use of steel and iron pieces. Mortise and tenon joints were commonly used in joining different structural members. Nails were not used. Bolts were employed where necessary. Joinery, wedges, and liberal use of wooden pegs set in augered holes ("pinning") were the most common methods of fastening employed in these structures.¹⁶

We recovered nails, both cut and hand made varieties, but none of the stringers or planking found by us in the river-bottom contained nails. The planking between stringers C and D was pinned to the underlying timbers. Two types of pegs were used. One was a simple round or square wooden pine or oak peg, made with a knife, hatchet or drawknife and pounded into a drilled hole. The peg was made slightly larger than the hole, in order to keep it tight. The second type of pin was more elaborate. The ends were

FIGURE 8 (See opposite page)

Items used in operation or construction of Sutter sawmill. **A.** Saw recovered by Bekeart in 1924 from west end of mill foundation near stringer E; length, 6' 4.5"; width at top, 5.75"; width at bottom, 4.75"; thickness, 4 mm.; which agrees very well with the instrument for setting the saw teeth shown here as **B.** **B.** Saw set: length, 14"; diameter of handle, .75"; width of jaw, 5 mm. **C.** Iron wedge, similar to those used in end of wheel hub (Figure 6B). **D, E.** Iron bolt with square shank and head. Nuts are noticeably thin. These bolts were hand made from square iron stock. **F.** Wooden peg with wedge illustrating "fox tail pinning." **G.** Iron ferrule used in binding end of wooden wedge. **H, I.** Two views of oak water-wheel bucket (?). We recovered a second, identical fragment, and Bekeart found two more examples. The piece shown here is beautifully fashioned and looks too well made to have been used in Sutter mill in its earliest operations. **K, J.** Two forged iron "dogs," used to hold logs on the carriage while sawing.



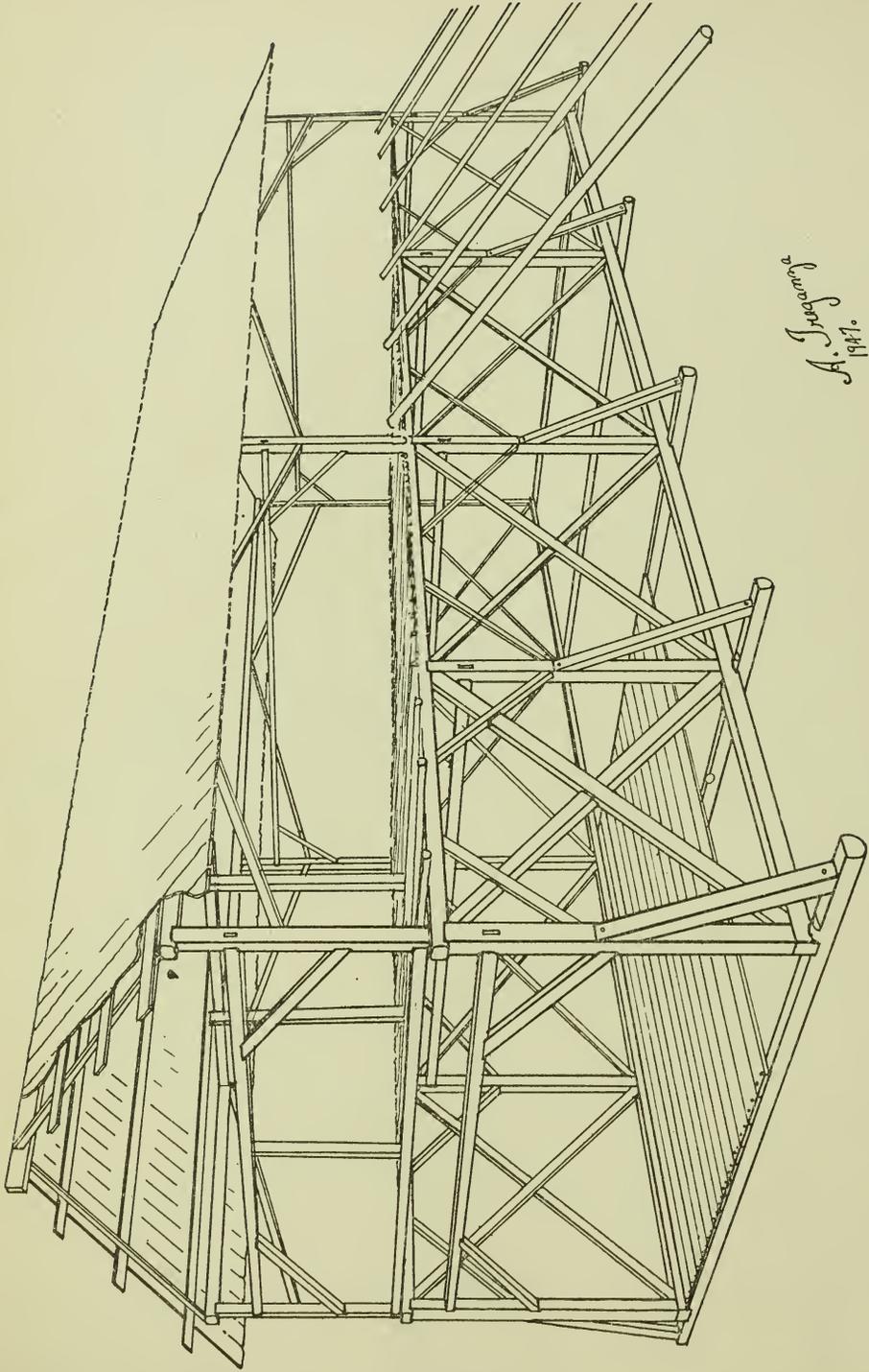


FIGURE 9

Structural details of Sutter sawmill based mainly upon 1947 excavation data and Watkins daguerreotype of 1853. This is a careful scale drawing by Adan E. Trenganza. Important dimensions are: length, 60'; width, 20'; height of first floor above foundation, 18'; height of roof peak above foundation, 37.5'; above floor, 19.5'.

cut off square, as in the first type, and one end was split with a knife. In this split was inserted a thin wedge as wide as the diameter of the peg. The peg with the started wedge was then dipped in tallow or wax and pounded in the hole. As the peg was driven down, the thin wedge forced the cleft end open and expanded it tightly in the hole. This method, known technically as "fox tail wedging," of tightening or expanding pins was so effective that all have remained imbedded in the mill timbers. One which we succeeded in extracting is shown in Figure 8F.

The various methods of bracing described above and shown in Figure 9 were standard, as reference to Plate 5 and Figure 8 will demonstrate. Mortise and tenon joints were locked together with wedges and by driving wooden pins through from side to side.¹⁷

The tools employed in constructing the mill are known from one of Marshall's drawings. They were the hand auger, crosscut saw, hammer, chisel, vise and forge. Our excavation yielded ax, adze and gouge chips, a claw hammer, carpenter's folding rule, and other tools. The saw recovered by Bekeart is shown in Figure 8A. We recovered a tool used to set the alternate teeth of the saw (Figure 8B). Two iron "dogs," used in the mill to hold the log on the carriage, are shown in Figures 8J and K; and a larger dog, which was driven into the rear end of the log to hold it against the headblock, was recovered by Bekeart and is identical to the one shown in Plate 5A (bottom). Two iron bolts with square shanks, square heads, and threaded ends, recovered from the mill foundation, and an iron ferrule, used to bind the end of a wooden splitting wedge, are shown in Figures 8D-E and 8G.

PLATE 5 (Facing this page)

Plans of sawmills of middle nineteenth century. **Above** (after Evans, *op. cit.*, Plate XXIII; see also p. 347). Evans' explanation is as follows: "The sluice drawn from the penstock [forebay] 10, puts the wheel 11 in motion. . . . The crank 12 [cf. Figure 7A] moves the saw-gate, and saw 9, up and down, and as they rise they lift up the lever 2, which pushes forward the hand-pole 3, which moves the ragwheel 5, which gears in the cogs of the carriage 4, and draws forward the log 16 to meet the saw, as much as it is proper to cut at a stroke. When it is within 3 inches of being cut through the log, the clect C, on the side of the carriage, arrives at a trigger and lets it fly, and the sluice gate shuts down; the miller [i.e., the sawyer] instantly draws water on the wheel 14, which runs the log gently back &c." What is of interest to us is the close resemblance between this mill and the Sutter mill shown in Figure 9. The main differences are that the Evans plan brings water in through the side of the mill, and the foundation is of masonry. **Below** (after Craik, *op. cit.*, Figure 34). This structure is practically identical to that of Sutter sawmill, except that forebay is projected under front of mill; forebay of the latter (*cf.* Figure 1) was ahead of the mill. Note English gate saw, five foundation stringers with long running girders, upon which rest the five joists to support the plate upon which the floor joists rest, and three roof joists.

NOTES

1. Coloma is probably an Indian name for a village at or near the present town. A. L. Kroeber ("California Place Names of Indian Origin," *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, XII, No. 2, 1916) cites Powers that the word is for a Southern Maidu village, *Ko-ló-ma*. In the broadside issued by the A. Roman Publ. Co., San Francisco, advertising reproductions of the Nahl painting, is a statement that the Indians called this place "Calloomak." The name appears as "Culloma" in the *New Helvetia Diary* under date of March 17, 1848. It is spelled "Colluma" on Derby's maps of 1848, and "Culoma" on other contemporary maps. The modern version was used and placed on the map by Tyson in 1849. (Information, courtesy of Dr. E. Gudde.)

2. Bekeart's report is published in the *Quarterly* of the Society of California Pioneers, I (Sept. 1924), 17-30. One of the upright timbers (shown here in Figure 3T) that he found is in the basement of their building at 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco, as are the several wooden and iron objects, including the saw. The California State Library has a folder containing letters and photographs deposited by him. In the possession of the Society of California Pioneers is a photograph of the monument erected by Bekeart with the notation written in ink by him that the mill's dimensions were 24 by 32 feet.

3. These pieces are now preserved with a creosote wash and have been placed in a specially constructed wooden shed where they will remain dry and aerated. Some surface deterioration had ensued in the 18 months between their removal and housing, but the interiors of all are sound and they are, considering everything, really quite remarkably preserved.

4. These timbers (C, D, H, I and J of Figure 1) had been visible for about a year. They were exposed by the cutting away of the south bank by the river in high water. This cutting is largely due to the gold dredging operations, which left the great tailings piles so clearly shown in Plate 1. Until the upstream point of these gravels, immediately below the bridge, can be cut away, the river will continue to cut into the State Park property above the Bekeart monument and seriously threaten the remaining foundation timbers and the tailrace.

5. The timbers and planking found by us were not removed, but were re-covered to prevent their removal by floodwaters. The best preservative is their original one, the cold waters of the river, which seem to inhibit bacterial decay and rotting.

6. Newton Grout, C. M. Traylor, Homer Metcalf, R. S. Coon, and a local man who had been hired as an assistant.

7. Bekeart says his excavation measured 9 by 16 feet and was 8 feet deep from the riverbottom to bedrock. His photographs seem to show a larger excavation, and we cannot be certain how much area he dug over. In the California State Library and in the files of the Society of California Pioneers, are photographs of timbers recovered by him. One timber (No. 3 of his photograph) is the stub of the base of an upright 12 inches square, which we concur with Bekeart in identifying as the big joist of the southwest corner of the mill (this is the corner nearest the camera in Plate IX). Under this joist is the end of girder G (No. 2 of Bekeart's photograph), which lies in a notch of a cross timber (Bekeart's No. 1; stringer E in our Figure 1). It would appear that this assemblage is certainly that of the southwest corner of the mill. On the basis of our excavation along the line of stringer E, which lies near the north and east borders of the monument raised in 1924, we had decided that Bekeart had extracted these timbers. Since Bekeart's brief published account of his activities does not contain detailed information on his findings, the photograph referred to above, and which we saw after our return from Coloma, constituted proof of what we were fairly certain of, on the basis of our own explorations.

7a. Prof. E. Fritz, Department of Forestry, University of California, stated in a letter dated Apr. 15, 1947, to the author that he found no certain evidence of sugar pine in the planks or chips which we excavated. Most of the pieces are of Digger pine (*Pinus Sabiniana*) and black oak (*Quercus Kelloggii*).

8. A ramp for bringing the logs into the mill to be sawed.

9. We noted millrace side planks which were up to 30 feet in length, and some of the roof sheeting that we inspected in the Bay State House (now owned by Mrs. Cora Winje), which was cut in the Sutter sawmill, was over 20 feet in length. This sheeting is untrimmed on the edges, and varies in width from 13 to 20 inches. (See Plate 4F.)

10. In respect to the placement of the forebay, but *not* to its construction or plan, the Sutter sawmill differed from the usual mill of the period. The standard method was to bring the forebay in under the front of the mill (Plate 5; Figure 9). That the designers of the Sutter mill did not do this indicates some special reason, probably that of placing the wheel at the very front of the mill, rather than under the millfloor somewhere near the middle beneath the saw.

11. David Craik, *The Practical American Millwright and Miller* (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 215-222.

12. The crank was given by Marshall to the Society of California Pioneers, but it was lost in the 1906 earthquake and fire.

13. We recovered a number of planks which showed this feature clearly. It is well shown also by the sheathing cut in the Sutter sawmill and used in the Bay State House, referred to above.

14. As Dr. Neasham has pointed out, there were several other men besides Marshall who worked on the mill structure. Most of them were probably familiar with basic mill design. Marshall apparently drew up the plans and designed the mill irons, which would include the axles, heavy bolts, pitman irons, and the saw.

15. See, for example, Edward Cresy, *An Encyclopaedia of Civil Engineering* (London, 1847), pp. 1303-13; James F. Hobart, *Millwrighting* (New York, 1909), pp. 93 ff.; Oliver Evans, *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1850), pp. 342-53; David Craik, *The Practical American Millwright and Miller* (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 177-215. It will be remembered that a steam sawmill was part of the cargo of the ship that brought the first three pianos to California in 1843 (this QUARTERLY, XIII, March 1934, 34-37).

16. The Bale Mill near St. Helena, Napa Co., which was built in 1846, also employed pinning, but with the difference that these pins were pointed, while those of the Sutter sawmill were square-ended. In Coloma, the Bay State House and nearby barn which were built in 1850 also employed pinning.

17. Cresy, *op. cit.*, p. 1306.

Artifacts from Excavation of Sutter's Sawmill

By FRANKLIN FENENGA

AS a by-product of our search for architectural features which would permit the identification and delineation of the site of Captain Sutter's sawmill, a number of minor artifacts, that had been lost or discarded at the mill during its construction and operation, were found. These, no less than the mill timbers themselves, are of historical importance, for some of them can be precisely dated, thereby offering a test of our general conclusions. Perhaps of equal importance is the insight the objects afford into the needs—and into the means of satisfying those needs—amongst the people of Coloma in the period 1847-1853.

The objects described here were all found in one of two loci within our excavations. The large majority were recovered from the river-bed between the foundation timbers of the mill, prevented, perhaps, by the stringers from being washed down into the tailrace and out into the stream. A smaller number were found in the sand fill of the tailrace. The very minor amount of digging done along the river bank immediately south of the mill suggests that this might be a very fertile area for further search.

The cold mountain water, which has continuously immersed the zone in which we are interested, has fortuitously preserved objects of several materials not ordinarily found in archaeological deposits. Bacterial decay was sufficiently inhibited that objects made of wood and leather were recovered and can now be preserved indefinitely. Iron artifacts exposed to the local atmosphere over a similar length of time would have been oxidized beyond recognition, but those recovered from beneath the water were marred by only a thin coat of rust.

A similar lot of artifacts was recovered in the earlier excavations of Bekeart and a few large pieces (a vise, an ore-car wheel, and a piece of logging chain) were found during the reconstruction of the monument by the California Division of Beaches and Parks. Unfortunately, we do not have the same objective check on the position in which these specimens were found, but the types and the condition in both instances indicate that they, too, were in use contemporaneously with the mill.

The following notes, then, contain a brief catalogue of the objects found in our excavations. Detailed study and descriptions of individual specimens have not been undertaken but should ultimately be done, perhaps best in connection with arranging them for museum display.

Chinaware. Nine fragments of several pieces of a deep purple willow-pattern, crackle-surfaced ware were found. The bottom of one plate (?)

bears the device of an eagle with head to the right, and the word "Ironstone" in an arc above the eagle's head.

A fragment of a heavy octagonal pedestal (for a compote?) was found. It is white, crackle-surfaced ware with a very small, painted, green design.

Three fragments of pottery "ale" bottles were recovered. They have terra cotta surfaces and a light gray paste.

Two fragments of Chinese porcelain "utility" ware were found in the sand-fill at the lower end of the tailrace. They are blue-gray in color and bear a blue design.

Flatware. A portion of a handle of a pewter tablespoon was found. A three-tined fork has a tenon for a wooden handle. The stem piece of a steel table-knife also lacks its wooden handle.

Glassware. There are about 100 fragments of green glass, mold-blown, concave-based liquor bottles of several types. One neck-specimen has a wired-on cork. One of the potables which these contained can be identified, since we found a lead cork cover bearing the label "Vieux Cognac" (see Plate 1, Figure 3). Possibly it came from one of the bottles sent by J. A. Sutter to Mrs. Wimmer and purloined by the millwrights.

The base of a square mold-blown bottle of green glass, several fragments of an octagonal bottle of clear glass, three fragments of a heavy leaded-glass bowl, three fragments of a light smoky-blue bowl, and fragments of five small medicine bottles were also found.

Storage and Preservation of Food. Thirty fragments of iron barrel-hoops were found, as well as a barrel stave and one board from a barrel top. Some of the barrel-hoops had probably been re-used as strap iron in the mill structure. Two fragments of a large, blue painted "tin" box and a French sardine can with a soldered brass label (Plate 1, Figures 1 and 2) were recovered. One iron leg of a Dutch oven was found. Also recovered was a granite mano or muller, the superior stone used by the California Indians in one of their hand-milling processes for reducing acorns and other seeds to flour. Perhaps this was part of the domestic equipment of the wife of one of the Indian laborers employed in the digging of the tailrace.

Clothing. Five relatively complete hand-made leather boots of the square-toed type, familiar in illustrations of the gold rush, were found (Plate 1, Figure 10). The leather was well preserved and it was only necessary to restore the oil which it had lost. All of them were badly worn and two had been inexpertly repaired. The thread with which they were sewn had completely disintegrated. There was a single square-toed, low-cut shoe of the style now called "chukka" (Plate 1, Figure 8). Like the boots, it was much worn.

A pair of leather suspenders had deteriorated very badly. They had been decorated along each edge by an overcast stitch, done in some material that now was entirely decomposed. Two shirt buttons, made of opaque white

glass, were found; also picked up was a single-faceted globular bead of opaque blue glass, of a type used extensively in trade with the Indians and probably lost by one of the Indian laborers.

Personal Equipment. Among finds coming under this head may be listed the following: A folding penknife with four light blades; an enchased sterling silver top to a pen or pencil and a four-piece mechanical ferrule designed to permit the quick changing of pen nibs, the ferrule being made of brass and plated with silver; a child's marble, of white china, which has four encompassing green lines setting off two poles, each of which bears a black shamrock; four brass mechanical pieces which seem to be from a large clock.

About twenty fragments of clay pipes were found. Five of these are ornamented, the others plain. The ornamented specimens include: a pipe bowl decorated with four sprays of ivy (Plate 1, Figure 4); a pipe bowl in the form of a lady's head (Plate 1, Figure 6); two ribbed pipe bowls decorated with sprays of ivy (Plate 1, Figures 5 and 9); and a portion of a pipe stem, the distal end of which has a feather motif, the proximal end being ribbed (Plate 1, Figure 7).

Firearm Equipment. A pair of scissor-type bullet molds, having a pit designed to make a ball of approximately .50 calibre, and blades on the legs behind the jaws for trimming off the mold, were found. There were about twenty lead balls, some flattened and some unused, all of which were of less than .30 calibre. Also found was one complete bar of ammunition lead, and more than 100 brass percussion caps, all of which had been fired.

Tools. Tools, used in the construction and operation of the mill, and in the attendant logging activity, outnumbered the other artifacts found in our excavations. A notable feature in connection with the tools is that almost without exception they had been broken, and therefore, presumably, discarded. They include: the blade of a broad bitted axe, broken across the helve; the claw end of a curved-claw hammer; a stone drill bit; a section of a logging chain having a broken hook; a fragment of a buck-saw blade (this is not the mill saw, but a lighter weight, crosscut saw); ten fragments of flat files (these would have been constantly in use during the operation of the mill, in sharpening the saw blades; the saw-tooth setting wrench and the vise have already been described); a leather shoe heel, which had had a hole drilled through it so that it could be used as a washer; a fragment of a vise jaw; approximately 500 square-cut nails; four screws; several hand-forged bolts and nuts; a section of a 24-inch folding carpenter's rule with copper-mounted joints.

It hardly seems necessary to add that these notes call attention to a general point in connection with the future archaeological excavations of California's historic sites, namely, that minor antiquities will be encountered incidental to excavations of any type, and that provisions should be made for the adequate care, preservation and study of such objects.

A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California

By CLIFFORD M. DRURY

THE coming centennial celebrations of the establishment of the Protestant faith in California have shown the need for compilation of an accurate chronology which may be used with confidence by the churches or denominations as a guide in their observances. In the summer of 1946, the centennial celebrations committee of the California State Chamber of Commerce requested the Northern California-Western Nevada Council of Churches, with headquarters at 220 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco, to serve as a coordinating agency for the Protestant denominations in evolving their respective plans; and, acting upon this request, the administrative board of the council appointed a research committee consisting of the following representatives: Howard W. Derby (Methodist), Dr. Sanford Fleming (Baptist), Rev. E. W. Houlding (Congregational), the Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons (Protestant Episcopal), Rev. John W. Winkley (Methodist), and the writer, a Presbyterian.

This committee has held several meetings to evaluate and systematize the available data. It was found that the conflicting claims of some of the denominations to the distinction of being "first" in a particular field could be clarified by remembering that certain churches or denominations prefer to commemorate the beginning of regular services rather than the date of the formal organization of a church. The committee decided to accept for each denomination its own definition of a church and the corresponding dates of origin.

The following chronology has met the approval of the members of the committee and is given to the public with the hope that it will serve as a guide and stimulus to the Protestant churches of California in observance of the coming centennials.*

1579

June 17-July 23 (old style calendar; comparative dates in new style would be June 27-August 2). Sir Francis Drake's ship, *Golden Hinde*, was anchored in what is now known as Drake's Bay, Marin County, California. Soon after arriving, the Rev. Francis Fletcher, chaplain of the expedition, conducted the first Protestant service in the English tongue in what is now continental United States. Since Fletcher was a clergyman of the Church of England, it is assumed that the Anglican Prayer Book was used. Accord-

*The sources dealing with well-known historical events listed in the chronology are not given. References will be provided for new, unusual or little-known facts, or where corroborative citations seem advisable.

ing to the inscription on the Prayer Book Cross in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, the service took place on "about St. John's Day, June 23, 1579."

1826

November 27 Jedediah "Bible Toter" Smith with a few companions arrived at San Gabriel Mission, the first white men to reach California from the East by the overland route.¹ Smith, a devout Methodist, is reported to have carried his Bible with his gun. He and the members of his party were the first known to have observed Protestant forms of worship, following those conducted by members of the Drake Expedition, in what is now the State of California.

1829

September 30 The Rev. Jonathan Green, a Congregational missionary from Hawaii under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, entered the Golden Gate as a passenger aboard the *Volunteer*. Green left Honolulu on February 13th of that year to make an exploring trip along the Pacific Coast, to see if conditions were propitious for the planting of a "New England Colony" under the sponsorship of his Board. He went as far north as Sitka, Alaska. After visiting San Francisco (then known as Yerba Buena), the *Volunteer* went to Monterey, from which port it sailed on October 17th for Honolulu. In his report to the American Board, Green advised against the establishment at that time of an American colony in California. He made no mention of any religious service held ashore. Green has the distinction of being the first Protestant pastor to enter San Francisco Bay.²

1846

June 7 Capt. John B. Montgomery, a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church, conducted Protestant divine services aboard his ship, the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*, in San Francisco Bay. On July 7th Commodore J. D. Sloat raised the United States flag at Monterey, and on the 9th Captain Montgomery did the same at Yerba Buena (San Francisco). The plaza was named Portsmouth Square after his ship and the waterfront came to be known as Montgomery Street. According to reports, Captain Montgomery conducted divine service ashore on Sunday, July 12th. This was "the first public Protestant worship held in the town."³

July 30 The Rev. Walter Colton, a Congregational minister and Navy chaplain aboard the U.S.S. *Congress*, went ashore at Monterey to begin his duties as alcalde or governor "over an immense extent of territory, and over a most heterogeneous population."⁴ Colton was the first Protestant minister to reside in California. His duties, however, were principally secular. In partnership with Robert Semple, and with the use of an old press brought to California in 1834 by Thomas Shaw of Boston for A. V. Zamorano, he published in Monterey on August 15, 1846, the *Californian*, the first newspaper to be printed in California. A hall, erected by Colton for

administrative purposes, was finished, he tells us, on March 8, 1849, and was used for the first meeting of the California constitutional convention in September of that year. The building still stands and is known as Colton Hall.

July 31 The *Brooklyn*, which sailed from New York with a company of some 230 Mormons (including 100 children) under the leadership of Samuel Brannan, arrived in San Francisco. For about a year and a half the Mormons represented the largest non-Catholic religious group in California. About half of the Mormon colony eventually moved east to Salt Lake. Brannan brought with him the printing outfit of the New York Mormon paper, *The Prophet*, and on January 9, 1847, launched the first regular edition of his weekly, the *California Star*. When the Mormons took up residence in California, they continued their forms of worship, including Sunday preaching services. A battalion composed of Mormons arrived at San Diego on January 29, 1847, a fortnight after the signing of the treaty of Cahuenga, marking the end of the Mexican War. They, too, continued their forms of worship, administering baptism to converts.⁵

November In the latter part of this month, Protestants at Santa Clara began regular Sunday services, largely under Methodist supervision. Adna A. Hecox, a Methodist local preacher, was the main leader until he moved to Santa Cruz in February 1847. The Santa Clara group changed the site of its worship to San Jose in the summer of 1847.⁶

1847

April 18 Company F of Col. J. D. Stevenson's regiment arrived in San Francisco aboard the *Brutus* with the Rev. Thaddeus M. Leavenworth, an Episcopal clergyman, as chaplain.⁷

April 24 The Rev. William Roberts and the Rev. James H. Wilbur, missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, stopped off in San Francisco on their way to Oregon. Several religious services were held, including one on Sunday, April 25, in an adobe hotel adjoining Portsmouth Square. During the six weeks' visitation in the Bay area, Wilbur organized in San Francisco a Methodist class and on May 16 a Sunday school.⁸ With the exception of some organized work the Mormons may have undertaken for their people, the Methodist class and Sunday school marked the beginning of organized work on the part of Protestants in California. Roberts has the distinction of being the first ordained Protestant clergyman to conduct a religious service in San Francisco. Commenting on the Methodist work started in San Francisco, Roberts stated in his report to his Board: "There being no minister of our Church to look after these interests, both the class and school were disbanded until February, 1849."⁹ However, there is evidence that the class met with fair regularity up to the gold rush of 1848.

May 2 The Rev. T. M. Leavenworth conducted the first Protestant Episcopal service in San Francisco in the adobe hotel on Portsmouth Square.¹⁰

A meeting was called for Thursday, May 6, to consider "the establishing of a church in the town of San Francisco."¹¹ Although a committee was appointed to aid in the project, nothing more is known of the endeavor. Leavenworth severed his connection with Stevenson's regiment soon after his arrival in San Francisco. He opened a drug store, the first in the city, and on August 27 was elected alcalde of San Francisco.

July 3 The Rev. Chester S. Lyman, a Congregational minister, arrived in San Francisco and took up the work of a surveyor. It is probable that a throat ailment kept him from carrying on his work as a minister. A diary, giving his California experiences, throws much light on the religious and moral conditions in California prior to and during the gold-rush days of 1848 and 1849. Under date of Sunday, July 11, Lyman wrote: "At 4 p.m. Rev. Mr. Newton chaplain of the *Columbus* preached on shore in the new building of Mr. Ross to an audience of 30 or 40 collected on short notice. He gave us an excellent sermon from the 19th Psalm."¹² Chaplain Joel Newton was a Congregational minister.

August Regular Sunday services commenced at Santa Cruz under the leadership of the Methodist local preacher, Adna A. Hecox.¹³

October Elihu Anthony, a local Methodist preacher, arrived in San Jose after making the overland trip. He preached at San Jose and elsewhere as opportunities offered. Before the end of the year Anthony visited San Francisco where he conducted services.

December 26 A new schoolhouse built on the southwest corner of Portsmouth Square, facing Clay Street, was dedicated. The December 29 issue of the *Californian* carried the following announcement:

The new school is now completed, but no one seems to know for what it is designed; yet some of our citizens last Sabbath, possessing more than ordinary discernment, concluded that it must be either a school house, court house or church. They finally determined that it had more the appearance of the latter; then taking the hint, they marched, en masse, to the new constructed house, took possession of it in the name of the Great Jehovah, and then and there proceeded to the discharge of some of the more rational duties of civilized man. Two or three sermons were delivered during the day, by a reverend gentleman, whose name we have not learned.

This is all well. Let this strange edifice be occupied upon the Sabbath as a church, but let it, during the residue of the week, be occupied as a school house, the legitimate object of its erection.

In all probability the unknown "reverend gentleman" was Elihu Anthony, who visited San Francisco about that time. Elihu's brother, C. V. Anthony, in his *Fifty Years of Methodism*, stated:

Two services were planned for the Sabbath, one in a school-house recently erected by the Mormons under the auspices of Samuel Brannan, then a Mormon Elder, and in charge of a colony of people from Salt Lake. . . . Mr. Brannan, afterwards so wealthy and well-known, gave ready consent to the use of the building for Methodist services, and himself attended them.¹⁴

Summary of 1847 By the end of the year, three ordained Protestant ministers were living in California, all engaged in secular activities: Walter Colton, alcalde at Monterey; T. M. Leavenworth, alcalde at San Francisco; and Chester S. Lyman, surveyor. A Methodist class and Sunday school had been organized in San Francisco. Two local preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, A. A. Hecox and Elihu Anthony, had arrived in California and were carrying on religious work. Small congregations of Protestants in several localities were meeting regularly for worship.

1848

February A Methodist Episcopal church was organized at Santa Cruz which continues under the name of "First Methodist Church of Santa Cruz." Elihu Anthony, who had moved to Santa Cruz in January, was chosen acting pastor.¹⁵

March 15 The *Californian* of this date carried the startling news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill.

May 7 A Methodist Episcopal church was organized at San Jose, with A. A. Hecox as acting pastor. The church ceased to function during the gold rush of that summer, but gatherings of Protestants for religious devotions continued.¹⁶

September 24 The Rev. C. S. Lyman officiated at the first marriage by a Protestant clergyman in California, when Mr. George W. Eggleston and Miss Phoebe Moses were wedded in San Francisco.¹⁷

October 29 The Rev. Timothy Dwight Hunt, a New School Presbyterian, arrived in San Francisco from Honolulu. He was the first Protestant clergyman to engage in full time religious work in California.

November 1 At a meeting of interested citizens held in the schoolhouse, Mr. Hunt was called to be chaplain of the city at a salary of \$2,500 per annum. The *Californian* for Saturday, November 4, 1848, carried the following announcement: "Divine Service every Sunday at 11 O'clock, A.M. and 7½ P.M. by the Reverend T. Dwight Hunt, at the Public Institute, Portsmouth Square. A general attendance of our citizens is desired." A Sunday school and midweek prayer meeting were soon started.

December 3 The Rev. C. O. Hosford, a licensed Methodist Episcopal preacher, who had arrived in San Francisco a few days before, occupied Mr. Hunt's pulpit. Hosford had been sent from Oregon to California by the Rev. William Roberts to organize Methodist churches.¹⁸ Hosford visited the mines and preached at Hangtown.

Summary of 1848 Methodist Episcopal churches at Santa Cruz and San Jose were organized during the year. The Rev. Timothy Dwight Hunt was made city chaplain of San Francisco on an undenominational basis and under his direction regular worship services were held during the last two

months of the year in the schoolhouse. The Methodists had sent one of their preachers from Oregon, C. O. Hosford, to begin work in California for that denomination.

1849

January 7 First recorded Protestant communion service in California conducted by the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt.¹⁹

February The Rev. C. O. Hosford, according to the best available information, organized a Methodist Episcopal church in San Francisco which continues as the "First Methodist Church" of that city.²⁰ On March 14, Hosford was married to Miss Aseneth Glover, the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt officiating.²¹ Soon afterwards the Hosfords left for Oregon.

February 23 The Rev. Samuel H. Willey (pronounced Willie), a New School Presbyterian, disembarked from the *California* at Monterey. Willey started Sunday worship services in March, but the response was so poor that he moved to San Francisco in the summer of 1850, where he organized the Howard Presbyterian Church. Looking back on his residence at Monterey, years later, Willey wrote: "There were not at that time members of the Presbyterian Church who could be organized into a church, nor were there for many years afterwards."²²

February 28 Three other Protestant ministers, also passengers on the *California*, arrived at San Francisco. They were the Rev. John W. Douglas, New School Presbyterian; the Rev. Sylvester Woodbridge, Jr., Old School Presbyterian; and the Rev. Osgood C. Wheeler, Baptist. Mrs. Wheeler accompanied her husband and, therefore, has the distinction of being the first "female missionary" to reside in California.²³

March 18 Wheeler commenced regular preaching services in San Francisco. A Sunday school was organized May 27.

March The Rev. John W. Douglas began his ministry at San Jose. In a letter dated June 29, 1849, to the American Home Missionary Board, Douglas reported that his congregations were then numbering between fifty and sixty each Sunday.²⁴

April 1 The Rev. Albert Williams, Old School Presbyterian, arrived in San Francisco to begin work for that denomination in that city.

April 15 The Rev. Sylvester Woodbridge, Jr., organized the First Presbyterian Church of Benicia with four charter members. This church had the distinction of being the first Protestant denominational church in California with a fully ordained pastor. The church became defunct before 1875.

May 10 Asa White, a local Methodist elder, arrived from Oregon in San Francisco to take charge of the Methodist Episcopal work. He pitched a "blue tent" on Powell Street where he held services.²⁵

May 20 The First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco was organized by the Rev. Albert Williams with six charter members.

May-June The Rev. Ezra Fisher, a pioneer Baptist minister from Oregon,

spent eight weeks in the mines digging for gold. "During those eight weeks," he reported, "I preached two Sabbaths."²⁶

June William G. Deal, M.D., a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, commenced holding regular services in Sacramento.²⁷

June 20-July 30 The Rev. William Roberts, superintendent of the Oregon and California Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made an official tour in California. Roberts preached in San Francisco, June 24; in Coloma, July 8 (while in Coloma he organized a church and placed Elihu Anthony in charge); in Sacramento, July 15 (where he organized another Methodist church and placed Dr. Deal in charge); visited Stockton where he secured the promise of a lot for a Methodist church; left Asa White in charge of the work in San Francisco; and, before returning to Oregon, left instructions for the Rev. Isaac Owen to go to Sacramento, and for the Rev. William Taylor to work in San Francisco. The latter two were then on their way to California.²⁸

July 1 The Rev. Samuel Damon, a Congregational minister and editor of *The Friend* of Honolulu, preached the first Protestant sermon at Stockton.²⁹ Damon was with Roberts in Coloma on the 8th.

July 4 The Rev. John W. Braly (or Braley), a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, began his "Christian ministry to the gold diggers, Indians, and heathens," at Fremont.³⁰

The Rev. Flavel S. Mines, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman, arrived in San Francisco and commenced holding services on the 8th.³¹

July 6 The First Baptist Church of San Francisco was organized by the Rev. O. C. Wheeler with six charter members.

Licentiate Joseph A. Benton, a Congregationalist, arrived in San Francisco as chaplain of the Boston and California Joint Stock Mining Company. Benton preached his first sermon in Sacramento on July 22 on his way to the mines. Upon the dissolution of the company, Benton returned to Sacramento where he preached again on August 12. (See item below for September 16.) Benton was ordained to the Congregational ministry on March 5, 1851, being the first Protestant minister to be so set apart in the state.

July 22 The Rev. F. S. Mines led in the organization of the Protestant Episcopal parish of Holy Trinity in San Francisco, being assisted by the Rev. Augustus Fitch.

July 29 The First Congregational Church of San Francisco was organized by the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt with eleven charter members. Services continued to be held each Sunday in the schoolhouse on Portsmouth Square.

August 5 The First Baptist Church of San Francisco dedicated its newly erected building on Washington Street, between Dupont and Stockton Streets. This was the first Protestant church building to be erected in California.³²

September 5-10 First session of the Oregon and California Mission Con-

ference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Salem, Oregon. This was the first regional ecclesiastical conference of any Protestant denomination which included California.

September 12 The Rev. T. A. Ish, a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, arrived in California after an overland trip and settled at Sacramento.³³

September 13 The Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr, a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, arrived in San Francisco. He preached his first sermon in California on September 23.³⁴ Ver Mehr gradually assembled a congregation, which was organized as a parish on April 28, 1850, and known as Grace Church. This in time became Grace Cathedral.

September 16 The First Church of Christ, Congregational (now called the Pioneer Memorial Church) of Sacramento, was organized by J. A. Benton, assisted by the Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, a Congregational minister, who had but recently arrived after an overland journey.³⁵

September 20 The New School Presbytery of San Francisco held its first meeting at Monterey. Rev. T. Dwight Hunt was the convener; Rev. Samuel H. Willey, the first moderator; and Rev. John W. Douglas was the third required charter member. There was then no New School Presbyterian church in the state. This Presbytery was the first organized Protestant convention to meet in California and was also the first denominational all-state organization to be perfected.³⁶

September 22 The Rev. William Taylor (afterwards Methodist Bishop of Africa) arrived in San Francisco to become pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of that city. He preached his first sermon on Sunday, September 23.

September 23 The Rev. Isaac Owen, also under appointment by the Methodist Board of Missions, preached his first sermon in the state at what is now Grass Valley after an overland journey.

The Rev. F. S. Mines preached at Sacramento where Grace Church (Protestant Episcopal) was organized "about Sept. 25, 1849." The Rev. Richard F. Burnham, who arrived in Sacramento late in November or early in December of that year, became rector of the new parish.³⁷

September Charles Campbell, a local elder, probably of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, arrived in San Jose and commenced regular preaching services. Out of this congregation, a Methodist Episcopal church was organized on January 20, 1850, by the Rev. William Taylor.³⁸

Elder Thomas Thompson, a preacher of the Disciples of Christ, located at Gold Run in Placer County after his overland trip.³⁹

October 7 The Independent Presbyterian Church (New School) was organized at San Jose with six charter members by the Rev. John W. Douglas.

The First Methodist Episcopal Church of San Francisco dedicated the

“Oregon Chapel” on Powell Street. This building, sent to California by Superintendent Roberts from Oregon, was the second Protestant church building to be erected in California.

October 10 Licentiate Frederick Buel, a Congregationalist and a representative of the American Bible Society, arrived in San Francisco. Buel was ordained in 1851 by the Presbytery of California (Old School).

October 13 The Rev. Charles A. Farley, a Unitarian minister, arrived in San Francisco.⁴⁰ He organized the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco early in 1850.

October 21 Col. Thomas H. Kellam was baptized by immersion in the waters of San Francisco Bay by the Rev. O. C. Wheeler. This was the first known baptism by immersion in California.⁴¹

October 23 The Rev. Isaac Owen arrived at Sacramento and took charge as pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church previously organized there. This church was afterwards known as the Sixth Street Church.⁴²

October 24 A Baptist “Society” was organized at Sacramento by the Rev. J. Cooke with fifteen charter members, who voted to continue Sunday services “under the large tree near Mr. Watson’s store.”⁴³ This “Society” became defunct. The present First Baptist Church of Sacramento was organized September 14, 1850.⁴⁴

October 30 The San Francisco Bible Society was organized in the First Methodist Episcopal Church of San Francisco.

October 31 Licentiate J. M. Cameron, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, arrived in Sacramento. He is reported to have begun preaching soon thereafter at Bodega.⁴⁵

October The Methodist Episcopal local preacher, A. J. Heustis, arrived in Sonoma and commenced regular preaching services. He organized a Methodist church before the end of the year.⁴⁶

William Hopkins, a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Jerome B. Annis, a local elder, began religious services at Stockton. James Corwin went to Stockton in January, 1850, to take charge of the work. This Methodist “class or society” became the nucleus of a circuit organized March 16, 1850.⁴⁷

November 18 The Rev. Henry Kroh, a missionary serving without salary under the German Reformed Church, arrived in Los Angeles after making the overland journey via Salt Lake City and the Santa Fe Trail. He has the distinction of being the first Protestant minister known to have visited Los Angeles.⁴⁸

November Holy Trinity Parish (Protestant Episcopal) of San Francisco occupied a church building.⁴⁹

December 30 Grace Chapel (Protestant Episcopal), located on Powell Street between Jackson and John Streets, San Francisco, was dedicated. The

Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr completed the organization of a parish on April 28, 1850.

Summary of Protestant work at end of 1849 The following table summarizes the status of Protestant work in California at the end of 1849. The list of ministers does not include licentiates, lay, or local preachers, who are known to have been in California before the end of the year but who were not engaged in full-time Christian work. Nor does the list include the names of some ministers, such as Ezra Fisher of Oregon, who had been in California in 1849 but who had departed before the end of the year.

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Names of ministers</i>	<i>Residence of ministers, or location of churches</i>
Baptist	Osgood C. Wheeler	San Francisco
Congregational	Timothy Dwight Hunt ⁵⁰	San Francisco
	Joseph A. Benton	Sacramento
Methodist Episcopal	William Taylor	San Francisco
	Isaac Owen	Sacramento
Presbyterian (Old School)	Sylvester Woodbridge, Jr.	Benicia
	Albert Williams	San Francisco
Presbyterian (New School)	Samuel H. Willey	Monterey
	John W. Douglas	San Jose
Protestant Episcopal	Flavel S. Mines	San Francisco
	J. L. Ver Mehr	San Francisco
	Richard F. Burnham	Sacramento

Each of the denominations listed had established churches in the places indicated by the end of 1849 except at Monterey.⁵¹ Several church buildings had been erected. The Presbyterians (New School) had perfected a state organization. The American Bible Society had organized a California branch. By the end of 1849, five of the major Protestant denominations (counting the Old and New School Presbyterians as one), were well established in California. San Francisco then boasted of having six Protestant churches; Sacramento, three; and Benicia and San Jose each had one. In addition, regular Sunday services were being conducted in several other localities by licentiates, lay, or local preachers.

It is altogether possible that some names or events have been omitted which should have been included in the above chronology. The available evidence in some cases is inconclusive. In general, however, the above chronology is recommended as a guide in the coming centennial celebrations by churches, denominations, or communities which wish to commemorate the beginnings of the Protestant faith in California.

NOTES

1. W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West* (New York, 1931), p. 216. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), III, 153, discusses the uncertainty regarding the exact date of Smith's arrival at San Gabriel, and cites points in favor of Dec. 26, 1826.

2. The *Missionary Herald* for Nov. and Dec. 1830 carried Rev. Jonathan Green's report.

3. Albert Williams, "The Building of a State—IV. Early Presbyterianism," *Overland Monthly*, V, 2d ser. (Feb. 1885), p. 180. Another pioneer Presbyterian minister gives a similar statement, viz., James Woods, in *California Pioneer Decade*, ed. by James L. Woods (San Francisco, 1922), p. 16. The log of the *Portsmouth*, on file in the Naval Records Collection, National Archives, Washington, contains the notation for Sunday, June 7, "Captain performed divine service." A similar record occurs for each Sunday of June and the first and third Sundays of July. The absence of a record for July 12 indicates the possibility of the captain performing the service ashore.

4. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, 1850), p. 19.

5. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 488, 546, 550; John H. Brown, *Reminiscences and Incidents of the Early Days in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1886), p. 34; W. Davidson *et al*, *History of San Diego County* (San Diego, 1936), p. 75. See also Henry W. Bigler, "Diary of H. W. Bigler in 1847 and 1848," revised by J. S. Hittell, *Overland Monthly*, X, 2d ser. (Sept. 1887), 233-45.

6. Samuel H. Willey, *History of Santa Cruz County* (San Francisco, 1879), pp. 15-23; Edwin Lord, in *Assistant Pastor* (local parish paper published at Santa Clara), Nov. 14, 1941, from notes made by Rev. J. A. Bruner in 1870.

7. Date is taken from Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 513; name of vessel is from *Spirit of Missions*, Oct. 1847, p. 338.

8. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54; *California Star*, May 21, 1847; James H. Wilbur, "Diary," *California Christian Advocate*, Feb. 2, 1898.

9. Rev. Wm. Roberts, "Third Annual Report of the Oregon and California Mission Conference," in *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1852), p. 104.

10. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

11. *California Star*, May 8, 1847.

12. Chester S. Lyman, *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California, 1845-1850*, ed. by F. J. Teggart (New Haven, 1924), p. 209; *California Star*, July 24 and 31, 1847. "The Gold Rush," ed. by F. J. Teggart, this *QUARTERLY*, II (Oct. 1923), pp. 181-202, gives California part of Lyman diary: diaries at California Historical Society.

13. Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

14. C. V. Anthony, *Fifty Years of Methodism* (San Francisco, 1901), p. 13.

15. Willey, *loc. cit.*

16. Lyman, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

18. T. Dwight Hunt, "Diary" (on deposit in San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California).

19. *Ibid.* Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 727, says that twelve communicants of six different denominations partook of the Sacrament.

20. See item for April 24, 1847 (and reference in Note 9, above), where Roberts is quoted as stating that the Methodist class and school "were disbanded until February, 1849."

21. Hunt, as cited above in Note 18.

22. Edward A. Wicher, *The Presbyterian Church in California, 1849-1927* (New York, 1927), p. 52.

23. Osgood Church Wheeler, *Early Baptist History* (Sacramento, 1889), p. 24.

24. Files of the correspondence of the American Home Missionary Board (on deposit in the Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago).

25. Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

26. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XVII (Sept. 1916), 281-82.

27. John Frederick Morse, *The First History of Sacramento City . . .* Reprint from *Directory of 1853* (Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1945), p. 34.

28. *The Friend*, Honolulu, Dec. 1, 1849; Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Woods, *op. cit.*, pp.

160 ff.; letters of Rev. Wm. Roberts dated June 25, July 9 and 29, 1849 (transcripts in Calif. Conf. Archives, as above). W. O. Upton, *Churches of El Dorado County . . . 1850-1940* (Placerville, 1941), p. 5, states: "In 1850, on April 22, Isaac Owen organized the first Quarterly Conference of the El Dorado Circuit [at Coloma]."

29. *The Friend*, Honolulu, Dec. 1, 1849.

30. B. W. McDonnold, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Cumberland, n. d.), p. 350.

31. *Proceedings of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, Diocese of California, 1855*, p. 28.

32. S. V. Blakeslee, "Editorial Correspondence," *The Pacific*, Mar. 6, 1856, claimed that a log church was erected at Weberville, "early in 1849." Since he wrote as though he were present at the time, this is evidently in error, as Blakeslee did not reach California until September of that year.

33. McDonnold, *loc. cit.*

34. J. L. Ver Mehr, *Checkered Life: in the Old and New World* (San Francisco, 1877), pp. 336, 339. *The Pacific News*, San Francisco, Sept. 15, 1849, gives Sept. 13 as date of arrival of the *Hebe*.

35. William W. Ferrier, *Congregationalism's Place in California History* (Berkeley, 1943), pp. 17, 18.

36. "Minutes" of New School Presbytery (original manuscript in Archives of San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo).

37. J. A. Benton, quoted in Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36, which harmonizes with Ver Mehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39. J. Horace Culver, *Sacramento City Directory* (Sacramento, 1851), p. 77.

38. This was a reorganization of the Methodist work in San Jose. See reference above for May 7, 1848; see also William Taylor, *California Life Illustrated* (New York, 1858), pp. 120-21. In his *Story of My Life* (New York, 1895), pp. 125 ff., Taylor expressly uses the word "organized." This is supported in the "Annual Report of the California District," Aug. 1851 (manuscript in Calif. Conf. Archives, as above).

39. E. B. Ware, *History of the Disciples of Christ in California* (Healdsburg, Calif., 1916), p. 27.

40. C. W. Haskins, *Argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 459, states that Reverend Farley sailed from Boston on the *New Jersey*, May 1, 1849; O. W. Howe, *Argonauts of '49* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), p. 221, says that the passage took 164 days, which means that the ship arrived in San Francisco on Oct. 13, 1849.

41. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

42. Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

43. Letter of George P. Newell, dated Oct. 25, 1849, in *New York Recorder*, Dec. 19, 1849, p. 149.

44. *Pacific Baptist*, Feb. 27, 1901.

45. McDonnold, *loc. cit.*; George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer* (New York, 1930), p. 282.

46. Wallace W. Elliott, *History of Humboldt County, California* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 167; Isaac Owen, "Report" (manuscript in California Conference Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California).

47. "History of the Stockton Methodist Episcopal Church to September 1851" (manuscript in California Conference Archives, as above).

48. Margaret Blake-Alverson, *Sixty Years of California Song* (Oakland, 1913), p. 9.

49. *San Francisco Directory*, 1873, p. 884.

50. Rev. T. D. Hunt, a New School Presbyterian, organized the First Congregational Church of San Francisco and in 1852 joined the Congregational Association.

51. See item for Feb. 23, 1849, above, regarding Reverend Willey. The Presbyterian Church of Monterey was not organized until 1883.

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Continued)

So I remained in the rear of McLellan's store until my good friend, Comstock, could be sent for. He soon made his appearance. Acting on the result of our deliberations, we managed to reach the office of my friend Judge C. M. Brosman (afterwards chief-justice of Nevada)⁶⁷ who had rooms in Montgomery Block, third floor. From thence we sent for Captain Spencer, who was my good friend. We arranged that I was to remain in Brosman office till 9 o'clock, then Spencer would call for me, which he did. We slipped out by the back stairs on Merchant Street, thence by dark and unfrequented streets and alleys, carefully dodging all policemen, to the waterfront at Folsom Street. There his boat, manned by his faithful sailor and steward, Peter, took us aboard his storeship, the old whaler *Tobacco Plant*,⁶⁸ which lay well out in the stream and there I spent the night.

Our plan was to board the steamer as she passed Fort Point. Comstock was to get my friend Captain Nicholson, an acquaintance of Capt. A. M. Burns of the *Pacific* to see the said Burns and arrange for him to sail at 9 o'clock, and by 6 o'clock, Peter and I were off in the little yawl, rowing by turns the six miles to Fort Point, which we reached in due season. Not being desirous of attracting attention and not daring to land, we shot the boat under the wharf there and kept it in position with boat hooks and our hands; no easy task, for when the sea rose before the regular strong ocean breeze, it required unintermittent attention; and as the piles were covered with barnacles and mussels, our hands were soon covered with blood. Nor had we any food or water with us, not supposing that the steamer would be so dilatory in starting. At last about 4 p. m. she made her appearance. We pulled out to meet her, but it proved to be the *Golden Age*.⁶⁹ We pulled back again in the rough choppy sea, and waited till 6 o'clock. At last the *Pacific* was in motion towards us. We again took position to forelay for her. We got within one hundred feet of her course; on she came without slackening her speed. I hailed the Captain on the wheel house, stood up, shouted, waved my ticket, but all to no purpose. He saw me plainly, but turned his back and walked off, while the steamer pursued her way to sea, carrying my trunk with every article of clothing I possessed except what I had on. My money, too, was all shipped except a few dollars. Nothing remained but to get back to the storeship and wait for the next steamer. Years afterwards, Captain Burns told me that Nicholson never saw him at all about the matter, for the reason that being in hiding himself from the officers of the law, in consequence of some difficulty with the sailors on his last voyage, he only boarded the steamer just as she cast off from the wharf.

I remained a close prisoner on that dirty old ship, living on mouldy hard tack, rice and salt pork for the three following weeks. The monotony was broken only twice: one day I spent on Goat Island, the first of my only two visits to that spot, which I subsequently passed daily in the ferryboat for seventeen years; and one night I spent on board the deserted hulk of the old ship *Cadmus*⁷⁰ which, in the year in which I was born, had brought Lafayette to the United States on the occasion of his triumphant visit. I wrote long letters to my dear absent wife, and even ventured once more to try my hand at poetry. I find the following effusion among my old papers which will give a true idea of my state of mind at the time.

. . .
 Is not the cup of all a mingled draught?
 Have we a right to murmur but complaint
 To Him who made us? Know we not that oft
 'Tis his design
 That *contrast* measures off our good and ill,
 Deepens each woe, exalts each heavenly thrill?

But all things must come to an end. By and by the good steamer *Uncle Sam*⁷¹ was advertised to sail. Comstock and Spencer had given it out that I had escaped on the *Pacific*. This report being corroborated by my disappearance, there was no lookout kept for me on the *Uncle Sam* which I boarded from the yawl without going on the wharf and just as she started. Fortunately my ticket was good for that steamer, though limited to the *Pacific* "for that trip only"; and as the wheels began to revolve and the gun was fired, I felt all the sensations of an escaped criminal. I jumped on the rail, waved my hat and joined in the parting cheers of the crowd with a gusto that was appreciated only by my two friends on the wharf, Comstock and Spencer.

The voyage was without incident worthy of mention till we reached San Juan del Sur. There we found the Isthmus of Nicaragua in possession of the filibuster Walker, to whom, a few weeks before, I had chartered the brig *Vesta*,⁷² in which his party sailed from San Francisco. He had impressed into his services all the mules with which the road to Virgin Bay was stocked, so that all who could were obliged to walk twelve miles to that place. Anticipating a warm time of it under the tropical sun, I left my valise to come with the other baggage, after depositing therein my coat and vest, and thus stripped down to it, I enjoyed a lovely walk amid the gorgeous scenery and vegetation of that hot rich country. The few ladies on board the steamer soon joined us on the lake boat, while the teams that brought them were ordered back for the baggage. Now it so happened that the afterwards celebrated Wm. C. Ralston, then the agent of the line, was among our passengers. He had made a bet of \$5,000 at San Francisco that this passage would be made two days quicker than that by the Panama route. Fearing the loss of his bet, he quietly ordered the Captain of the Lake boat

to go ahead without waiting for the baggage, which was left for the next steamer! So our three hundred passengers made the rest of the trip without a change of clothing! I went through without coat or vest and it was in that fix that I met my father-in-law, the late Daniel Burnett, then president of the Citizens Insurance Co. and Citizens Bank, corner of the Bowery and Walker Street, New York.

Our passengers came through in good health. At Castillo Rapids on the San Juan River, we met the west bound crowd of eight hundred who were to take the *Uncle Sam* for San Francisco. They seemed all right when we saw them. Hardly had they got on board when the cholera broke out among them and before they reached Cape San Lucas, two hundred and forty of them had died. This mortality continued for several subsequent trips that fall (1855), but only among the west bound passengers, until about one thousand had died. Yet we saw nothing of it.

We arrived at the wharf at two o'clock in the morning and were at once ordered ashore. At that weird hour New York, like many other cities, is asleep. It was then the full of the moon and no gas lights were lit in the streets. I walked up to the Howard Hotel alone. Silence everywhere, as in a city of the dead! The echo of my footsteps against the tall black houses, ghastly in the still bright light of the moon, struck a chill into my soul. I had been seven years absent. How different this, from the crowded, busy, roaring city I had left so long ago! But in the morning I found the people still there.

X

My baggage which the *Pacific* had carried off not having arrived (it was never recovered to me), I was compelled to seek my respectable father-in-law in search of my money, which Myra had deposited with him, before I could get decent clothing wherein to visit her. But he received me very kindly notwithstanding my demoralized appearance. He took me to his home, then in Perry Street, Greenwich Village, where I soon enjoyed a rapturous reunion with my dear Myra after our four months of painful and eventful separation. She had left Dita and Belle at Rock Point some weeks before, where the latter had wholly recovered her health under my mother's experienced care and on good Vermont milk and fresh air.

My first effort was to get some business, in New York or other eastern city. This soon proved out of the question. Times were dull and I was unfitted to earn any such salary as would have been necessary to support my family. What I knew about business, and it was not much, had been learned amid the reckless extravagance of San Francisco's pioneer days. I was not even a bookkeeper, had no valuable experience in any line of trade, and at 29, with a wife and two children, I could not afford, even if I could get a chance to try it, to compete with the young graduates of commercial colleges who swarmed everywhere and had fathers and uncles

to start them in life. The only business opportunity offered me was to rent an old brickyard some 40 miles from the city and manufacture brick! I soon came to the conclusion that I would be better off in San Francisco without a dollar, or an occupation, or a second shirt to my back, than in New York with a home of my own and income of \$1,000 per year!

So while I soon resolved to return to California, I set out to see if I could not take some business with me which would support me after I got there. In fact, I had thought of insurance as my life work before I left for New York. There were only six fire insurance companies and no marine represented there when I left, and they were all English. I thought if I could get the agencies of a few American companies with which to oppose the British monopoly, I could soon build up a comfortable income. To that end I had prepared, and had sent east by express, maps of the city, statements of the brick blocks already erected, reports of the fire department, etc., which I supposed would inform eastern underwriters of the nature of the field. With these, starting on some introductions given me by Mr. Burtnett, I went the rounds of the 100 or more fire offices in Wall Street and vicinity, but met little encouragement. I was of course totally ignorant of the business, and had no New York references except Mr. Burtnett, who would not give me his own company, for the reason that it never employed agents anywhere; and he knew nothing about me except that I had lived six years in San Francisco and had failed to make money.

Under these circumstances I soon heard that Jonathan Hunt had lately come from the Golden City on the same errand as myself. Mr. Charles J. Martin, then and until 1888 president of the Home Insurance Company of New York, advised me to seek a partnership with Mr. Hunt, who was then a man of fifty, an experienced New York merchant, known to many offices as such, and who could get their agencies when I could not; while I being much younger and well acquainted in San Francisco, could get many risks that he could not. So I met him by appointment, and Mr. Martin introduced us. Hunt received me very kindly, giving me sufficient encouragement as to the partnership to induce me to forbear further effort, and to turn over to him the use of my maps and statistics, he having nothing of the kind. With the aid of these he soon got the agencies of six first class offices, telling me from time to time of "our" success, and excusing himself for putting off the signing of articles of partnership until "our" return to California, on the plea of having too much to do in getting off his large family, etc. So I got but one little company, the "Lafarge" (name since altered to the "Exchange") and the mere correspondence of five others. With these, being in confident expectation of a valuable partnership with Mr. Hunt, I made up my mind to return. Accordingly on December 5 I bought tickets for \$450, which amounted to almost the last of my \$1,400; and, leaving Dita at Rock Point to begin her seven years' residence there, I embarked with my wife and child on the old wooden steamer *Star of the West* (afterwards famous

for her unsuccessful attempt to provision Fort Sumter while besieged by the rebels in December 1860) for Greytown via the Nicaragua route.

Just as the steamer was about to sail, my brother-in-law, William Burnett, rushed aboard to offer me the cashiership of a private bank in Chicago. I told him it was too late, that all my money was gone. He offered to lend me what was needed to get started and settled in Chicago, but I feared my own incompetence and that my services would be rejected on trial, so I thankfully declined the offer. I have often wondered what might have been my fate had I gone to Chicago in 1855, and grown up with that now great city instead of San Francisco.

I will not stop to dilate on our rough passage, on the dangers of the Isthmus route, on Myra's sickness all the way till we passed Cape San Lucas, nor on the cholera on board. Suffice it to say that we reached San Francisco in due course, arriving one day before Mr. Hunt, who took the Panama route.

I immediately waited on that gentleman and told him I was now ready to complete the arrangements for our partnership. "What partnership?" he replied.

"What partnership?" I exclaimed. "Why, the partnership Mr. Martin suggested in New York, which you promised you would consummate here, and for which I turned over to you the information with which you got four of your six companies."

"Ha, ha," he laughed. "Are you sure I promised to take you into partnership? Stop and think a minute. If I had, why would these commissions (showing them) have all been filled out with my name only? No, no, young man, you are pretty smart, but that cock won't fight in this business!"

What could I do? However, I put a bold face on the matter. Having taken my family once more to Mrs. Hyde's boarding-house, I hired an office, got out my cards and advertised my six companies as if they were all full agencies, and awaited my first customer. Joshua P. Haven, the same man who had lent me the mathematical instruments in 1849 and chartered my schooner *Emeline* for the wrecking job in 1851, was in 1856 the general agent and manager of the Liverpool and London Fire and Life Insurance Company, now the Liverpool, London & Globe. He was an accomplished fire and marine underwriter and adjuster; a good many years my senior and disposed to like me at first though we were totally uncongenial spirits. Fearing my threatened opposition to the English monopoly, of which he was the soul, he offered me his sub-agency for Sacramento, Marysville and other towns north if I would resign my New York companies, and at the same rate of commission, 10 per cent. Had he stopped to inquire into the nature of my correspondence with my companies, which only authorized me to procure applications to be decided on in New York, then thirty days distant via Panama, and with no powers to adjust or pay losses, he would not have troubled himself.

As it was, his offer was a godsend to me. I promptly accepted it and took my family to Sacramento, where I soon monopolized the little fire insurance that the people of that young, vigorous and fire-proof young city could be induced to negotiate.

XI

I had now got through, as I supposed, with my hitherto frequent changes of occupation, so fatal to success, and I determined to stick to insurance as a permanent business. I had a good company, a prompt and liberal general agent to work for, and I set to work to build up a business that would pay me better and better the longer I worked at it.

Sacramento was then as now the capital of the state. It had been almost totally destroyed by fire in November 1852, and the principal streets had been rebuilt of brick and iron with every appliance and contrivance to make them fire proof. Such buildings are not constructed now in California. It was consequently very hard work to induce their owners or occupants to pay premiums, especially as the rates were very high and the company would not accept any risk on wooden buildings at all, unless on "detached" lath and plastered dwellings with brick chimneys. On these the rate was $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; now 6/10 per cent.

I had of course no facilities for learning the business and no instructor at hand. I subscribed for the *Insurance Monitor* of New York, then the only insurance paper in the United States and a poor little thing to what it now is. I had also one law book, "Ellis on Fire and Life Insurance," edited by my former college pupil, Wm. G. Shaw, who was already on the bench in Burlington, Vermont. I had no "outfit" such as is now furnished to all agents; no blanks, no sign or advertising fund, no policy register, "no nothing." Of course I knew nothing about adjusting losses, but this did not matter, for only two losses occurred during the eighteen months I held that agency.

Fortunately, however, I had no rivals. If my field was a hard one, requiring constant labor, there was no "fellow over the way" to divide the harvest with.

My methods of canvassing, surveying, etc., were all adapted by myself. In a blank book I made an accurate plan of each risk by scale. I sent a copy of this with the application to Haven, who wrote a certificate of insurance (no policies) and mailed it to me next day. The third morning I received it by boat from San Francisco and immediately delivered it to the insured, collecting the premium and \$5.00 for my services at once.

This I remitted, less my commission and fee, by the 2:00 o'clock boat on the same day. During the whole of my incumbency I can truthfully say that I never slept with a dollar of the company's money in my possession unless, by some accident or the absence or sickness of the insured, I could not make the collection until the afternoon after the boat had left. In this way I collected \$40,000 premiums during the eighteen months, and made

a living for myself of about \$3,000 per annum. I had one loss in Sacramento of \$2,500, which Haven refused to pay for six months, believing it fraudulent at first; and one of \$30,000 in Marysville, which he ought to have reduced by re-insurance, as it was the largest on my book, but he neglected it until it was too late. During all this work I never got a single risk in my office; every one was the result of consistent canvassing, systematically conducted. I did it all on foot, hot as it was. I do not believe that a single owner of a risk insurable under my stringent instructions escaped my solicitations, and I persevered so vigorously in my efforts to extend the business, that I soon acquired the nickname of "Insurance." But the place was small. I made three or four yearly trips to Marysville and Oroville, then both flourishing towns, where I did very well, but often the time hung heavy on my hands. I had no recourse to get rid of it but by reading, and the only books I had access to were at a street bookstall, where books (second hand) could be borrowed at 25 cents a volume. Many a sultry afternoon did I wear away with the help of Cooper, Dickens, and Dumas.

Socially both Myra and I enjoyed ourselves in Sacramento as we never did in San Francisco. We boarded for a year, first at Mrs. Leavitt's, and afterwards at Tilden's. At that time that city was filled with young Americans, mostly from the northern states; all healthy, busy, prosperous, ambitious, and happy. Their wives were also young then, full of life and fun. Many of these people have since attained great wealth and high positions. Among my friends there (and it was the only place I ever lived in, where I had no enemies) were Leland Stanford, afterward the railroad magnate, millionaire, governor and senator, then a wholesale grocer on Front Street with whom I spent many an hour discussing questions of politics, business and social science; his brothers, Josiah and Philip Stanford; the late Mark Hopkins of railroad fame; Charles Crocker, then a retailer of drygoods, now the railroad millionaire; C. P. Huntington, the Central Pacific financier, now of Wall Street, New York.

After a year or more of boarding, I became sufficiently forehanded to take a house and begin to furnish it. It was a two story and basement brick on the corner of 8th and L streets, and was cool and pleasant in hot weather, being shaded on two sides with large cottonwood trees, then the chief tree used in Sacramento. We began to feel settled. I liked my business, which gradually grew and was profitable both to myself and the company. But I was not to enjoy it long.

One morning I picked up the Sacramento *Union*, when my eye fell upon the following advertisement:

"LIVERPOOL AND LONDON FIRE AND INSURANCE COMPANY"

NOTICE

The undersigned, having been appointed sole agent for the above named Company for Sacramento and vicinity, all parties having dealings with it will govern themselves accordingly.

R. H. STANLEY

Had a thunderbolt fallen out of the clear sky I could not have been more astonished than at this sudden destruction of my business, involving as it did the breaking up of our home, the loss of my hopes, the transfer to another, without any fault on my part, of the future avails of my severe labor. I wrote at once to Haven for explanation. He replied in a letter which developed a long-concealed personal dislike of me as the sole reason for making the change. He was, as I have said before, a brilliant, talented man, but he was terribly dissipated and irregular in his habits, while I was always sober, exact, conscientious and methodical; therefore a constant reproach to him. Stanley was one of his boon companions. . . . Years afterwards, when I undertook to collect mementos of early underwriters, for preservation, I could find only one copy, damaged by dirt and time, of an originally bad daguerreotype of J. P. Haven; and I doubt if there is a living person besides myself who knows where he is buried or recalls any associations at the sight of his humble monument in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

But the blow he inflicted upon me in July 1857 hurt me none the less because it ricocheted upon himself. I had no money saved at the time, having been furnishing my house. Had I not been too conscientious in respecting the business I had worked up as the property of the company and not my own, I would have got another company to have renewed it and so saved my future commissions. But this I would not do if I could, and probably could not have done had I wished, for there were but half a dozen agencies in the field and these were all banded together in a close union. So I pawned my watch to pay our passage back to San Francisco; and having stored our little furniture in Sacramento, I began the tireless search for a new means of livelihood.

And now for fourteen months I was without any regular business except organ playing. We moved often from boarding-house to housekeeping and back again. Myra took a few boarders at times, which helped to furnish our table. I tried to utilize my pen as a means of living; an article on banking that I wrote for the *Alta California* attracted Sam Brannan's attention, who employed me to write up his attempt to establish a banking-house on the basis of real-estate security. Out of this I earned \$50, and the articles procured me temporary employment as assistant editor of the *Evening Plaindealer*, an ephemeral paper started by an old sore headed, disreputable lawyer named Augustus M. Heslep, or "Hellslip" as he was nicknamed. He promised me \$150 per month for this service, which lasted six weeks or till the collapse of the paper, for which he paid me not one cent!

I got employment from the Pacific Mail Company as coal weigher, when the steamers were coaling, twice a month for Panama at \$5 per day and \$1 per hour for night work. My assistant at this was John Rosenfeld, the little Jew who has since figured largely as a shipping merchant, and who, at this writing, 1887, has just failed for an enormous sum, owing to losses in the celebrated wheat speculation of this year. Capt. M. B. Cox, the

wharf superintendent of the P. M. S. Company, was a fellow boarder of ours at the "Rincon House," corner of First and Folsom streets, and became our staunch friend till he died about 1873. He was a noble hearted Englishman and a charming companion when sober, but whiskey got away with him at last.

(To be continued)

NOTES

67. C. M. Brosman appears in the 1854 *Directory* as an attorney in the Parsons Building (Levi Parsons), on the north side of Clay, between Montgomery and Sansome. His legal work in Nevada at the time of the Comstock was in connection with cases involving the right of a surface claim-holder to follow an ore-bearing fissure vein (which typically dipped or inclined from the vertical), beyond his recorded surface lay-out. For a list of the lawyers employed in these suits, see Eldredge, *op. cit.*, IV, 250, footnote; Brosman is there spelled Brosnan.

68. When it is considered how popular tobacco was among whalers, to the extent that "many men consumed between one hundred and two hundred pounds of tobacco during the course of a three years voyage" (E. P. Hohman, *The American Whaleman*, New York, 1928, pp. 135-36), the name of this "old whaler" is understandable. For specific data on these ships, see *Whalemen's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript*, published weekly in New Bedford, March 17, 1843-Dec. 29, 1914, complete file in the New Bedford Public Library. Charles M. Scammon, *Marine Mammals of the North Western Coast of North America* . . . (San Francisco, 1874), p. 242, says that "San Francisco, in 1853, had ten vessels in the business, but the present year [1873] there is but one legitimate whaling-craft sailing from that port." At the time that Hopkins was writing (1855), whalers were still a not uncommon sight.

69. Wiltsee, *op. cit.*, p. 149, gives Oct. 17, 1854, as the date of the first appearance of the *Golden Age* in San Francisco Bay. It was purchased by the Pacific Mail from Wm. H. Webb, shipbuilder of New York, and formerly ran between Australia and Panama. (Picture of vessel, *ibid.*, *op. p.* 132.)

70. According to W. E. Woodward, *Lafayette* (New York, 1938), p. 418, the *Cadmus*, an American merchant vessel, sailed from Havre July 12, 1824, with Lafayette and his son, George Washington Lafayette, on board. The visitors left America Sept. 7, 1825, on the U. S. frigate *Brandywine*.

71. The *Uncle Sam*, of the Independent Opposition Line ("Ahead of the Mails"), sailed from New York June 22, 1853, and arrived at San Francisco Sept. 20. She was one of the fast newer steamers. (Wiltsee, *op. cit.*, p. 128.)

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 152 ff.

For personal recollections of the San Francisco insurance field, somewhat later than the period of which Hopkins is writing, see J. B. Levison, *Memories for My Family* (San Francisco, 1933), especially pp. 59 ff., with respect to the Association of Marine Underwriters.—Ed.

News of the Society

Owing to the timeliness of certain articles contributed to this issue of the QUARTERLY, the editors are limiting the usual contents of "News of the Society" to the list of new members and the marginalia. The omitted sections, covering the period March 1-August 31, will appear in the September number.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
Mrs. Ada Edwards Laughlin	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. George Adrian Applegarth	San Francisco	Continuing membership of mother, Mrs. L. B. Powers
Mrs. Robert G. Argo	San Marino	Membership Committee
Adrian Awan	Hollywood	George H. Kress, M.D.
Philip A. Bailey	San Diego	Allen L. Chickering
Joe Barreres	Pinole	Membership Committee
Mrs. Queen Walker Boardman	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Everett J. Brown	Piedmont	Continuing Judge Brown's membership
Herrick C. Brown	Oakland	F. M. Lane
Scott Brown	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Miss Ruth N. Callahan	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
W. B. Carman	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Irwin Cary	San Marino	Membership Committee
H. C. Chambers	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
D. S. Chesney	San Marino	Membership Committee
Wallace Chiles, M. D.	Odessa, Texas	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Albert Edward Conlon	San Francisco	Resuming membership
E. Morris Cox	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
Marcus E. Crahan, M. D.	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Ralph K. Davies	Redwood City	Miss Else Schilling
Thornton G. Douglas	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Miss Paula Fatjo	San Francisco	Albert Shumate, M. D.
Arthur R. Fennimore	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Joel E. Ferris	Spokane	Warren R. Howell
Dozier Finley	Berkeley	Membership Committee
E. T. Foley	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Douglas Grant	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Alexander F. Haas	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. A. L. Hawley, Jr.	San Anselmo	Warren R. Howell
B. C. Heacock	Piedmont	Walter A. Starr
Frank Hinman, M. D.	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
Hjalmar Jaegerstrom	Sundsvall, Sweden	Membership Committee
Gardiner Johnson	San Francisco	Membership Committee
A. L. Johnston	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Chris. R. Jones	Sacramento	Arthur C. Devlin
A. B. Knowles	San Francisco	Joe G. Sweet
Miss Elizabeth W. Latham	Berkeley	Resuming membership
Mrs. Oscar Lawler	Beverly Hills	Membership Committee
Marvin E. Lewis	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Norman B. Livermore, Jr.	Calistoga	Warren R. Howell
Joseph E. McCarrell	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
David McC. McKell	Chillicothe, Ohio	Warren R. Howell
Webster A. McKenzie	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Paul F. Mattoon	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
John B. Morse	Del Monte	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. David C. Mosby	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
J. Stuart Neary	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. R. P. Obrecht	Concord	Ralph H. Cross
T. M. Parks	Buellton	Membership Committee
Fred D. Parr	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Franklin E. Perham	Menlo Park	Guy C. Miller
A. F. Podesta	San Francisco	Membership Committee
John E. Porter	Watsonville	Membership Committee
F. H. Powell	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
D. L. Rigdon	Oakland	F. M. Lane
E. Denys Rowe	Lompoc	Membership Committee
Winfield Scott Runde	Oakland	Resuming membership
Mrs. Frederick H. Ruppel	San Marino	Membership Committee
San Jose Public Library	San Jose	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Santa Barbara School Library	Carpinteria	John Howell
Sidney L. Schwartz	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Joseph Silverman	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Maurice D. Smith	Oakland	Membership Committee
Joseph A. Sullivan	Oakland	Ralph H. Cross
Mark Robert Sullivan	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Roland G. Swaffield	Long Beach	Membership Committee
Homer C. Votaw	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
James W. Wallis	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
H. S. Watson	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Hon. Percy G. West	Sacramento	Membership Committee
Albert E. Wheatcroft	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Charles Corwin White	Calistoga	Hensley S. Davis
George Cossitt White	Pasadena	Membership Committee
G. W. Wickland	San Francisco	Sidney M. Ehrman
R. F. Williams	Piedmont	Warren R. Howell
Robert W. Williams	Philadelphia	Membership Committee
Charles Yale	Pasadena	Resuming membership

Marginalia

Anson Stiles Blake, whose views on the approaching centennials open the present number of the QUARTERLY, has served the Society for over twenty years as a director, as secretary-treasurer, as a vice-president, and from October 1945 as president. On numerous occasions he has been luncheon speaker on such subjects as, for example, the small group living on the slopes above Yerba Buena Cove between July 1846 and February 1849 (for which he drew from letters and other source material made available for the Society's sesqui-centennial celebration of the founding of San Francisco); the life of California miners in 1849-50 and in 1851-52, based on excerpts from letters written by his father, Charles T. Blake, and from the

diary of C. T. H. Palmer, both of whom were Yale graduates, sensitive to details usually passed over by other observers; and in November 1931 he addressed the luncheon meeting on John Bidwell's expedition—all of this actual acquaintance either with the persons or the original records of the times giving weight to his present reflections. Mr. Blake has long been a director of the Society of California Pioneers.

Several terms in the state legislature as assemblyman and as senator preceded the Hon. Joseph R. Knowland's election to congress in 1904 to represent the sixth California district. He remained in office until 1915. Thereafter he has continued his services to the community in various capacities: as editor and publisher of the *Oakland Tribune*, author of *California—a Landmark History* (Oakland, 1941), director of the State Chamber of Commerce, and as chairman of the California State Park Commission. In 1945 he was elected a director of this Society and the next year became first vice-president. His intimacy with places and events that are significant in California history was brought out at the luncheon meeting on June 4, 1945, presided over by his friend, the late William Cavalier. The members who attended are not likely to forget their interest in Mr. Knowland's address, nor, some four months later, the discerning obituary he wrote in tribute to that friend, who had given so much of his time and enthusiasm to the state. (This QUARTERLY, XXIV, Dec. 1945, 374-75.)

Aubrey Neasham was one of the collaborators in the account of the 1846 flag raising at the Monterey Custom House, published in the September 1946 issue of this QUARTERLY. See *idem*, page 284, for biographical note on Dr. Neasham.

Robert F. Heizer received his Ph.D. degree in anthropology at the University of California in 1941. This award was preceded by field work on Kodiak Island as a member of the 1934-35 Smithsonian expeditions directed by Dr. A. Hrdlicka, and by archaeological investigations the next three years for the state university in central California. The latter included the vicinity of Drake's Bay and resulted in a paper on Cermeño (this QUARTERLY, XX, Dec. 1941, 315-28), and in his recent article, "Francis Drake's California Anchorage in the Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," published in the *Pacific Historical Review*, XI (June 1942), 213-17. Primarily he is an archaeologist, a fact which furnishes excellent excuse for the interrelated sciences to claim part of his abilities for their own work. At present Dr. Heizer is assistant professor of Anthropology at the University of California. He is the author of some half-hundred articles in the publications of various professional societies, 1937-45, and in this QUARTERLY.

Franklin Fenenga is a graduate of the state university. He is pursuing studies in anthropology there while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution in making an archaeological sur-

vey of areas that will be inundated by construction of the dams projected by the Central Valley Authority. Mr. Fenenga has done archaeological research in the Mississippi Valley as well as in the southeastern part of the country, the results of some of his investigations being published in *American Antiquity* and the *American Anthropologist*.

Clifford M. Drury is well known through his writings on pioneer characters of the northwest—Henry Harmon Spalding, Marcus Whitman, M.D., and Elkanah and Mary Walker. He has traveled and studied widely, and specialization on historical subjects won him the Ph.D. degree from Edinburgh University. From 1941 to 1946, Dr. Drury served as chaplain in the U. S. Navy. He is at present in Washington, D.C., on leave from his work in church history and missions at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, while writing a history of the Chaplain Corps of the Navy.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

When in college, Mrs. Margaret Wilson Argo (Mrs. Robert G.) majored in history and has since been interested in tracing historical influences, actual or potential, on the life and politics of the present—looking up to history, in other words, as itself the teacher, rather than merely enjoying it as a subject.

Adrian Awan is executive producer of the two plays known much beyond local circles as "Ramona Outdoor Play" and "The Mission Play." The Ramona Pageant Association, whose twentieth season opened in the Ramona Bowl, Hemet, California, on April 19, is sponsored by the people both of Hemet and San Jacinto.

From his birthplace in Oakland County, Michigan, Philip A. Bailey moved to San Diego in 1911 by way of Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he had been a resident for five years. Since coming to San Diego, Mr. Bailey has been associated with the San Diego Gas & Electric Co., first as analyst, then as assistant secretary, and now as assistant treasurer. He is the author of *Golden Mirages*, published by Macmillan in 1940.

The movement westward among Dr. Wallace Chiles' forebears began in Kentucky, continued to Jackson County, Missouri, and thence, in the person of his uncle, Joseph B. Chiles ("Col. Joe Chiles") to California with the Bartleson party in 1841. Chiles Valley in Napa County bears the family name. Dr. Chiles himself has never been to this state; but his fondness for history enables him to find satisfaction in "browsing around" libraries. One hopes he has looked into Bancroft's *History of California*, where, on page 759 of volume 2, he will find a complimentary account of his uncle, including his enterprise in attempting to bring a mill to the coast in 1843. Bancroft says, too, that he was a famous hunter.

Membership in two distinguished organizations, the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles and the Southern California Historical Society, gives evidence

of Thornton G. Douglas' interest in history. His own story began in Mobile, Alabama, in 1898 and was continued in St. Louis where he attended the public schools. For the past six years Mr. Douglas has been a partner in the public accountancy firm of Price, Waterhouse & Co., with whom his connection began in 1918.

Arthur R. Fennimore, a native of Ohio, came to Sacramento with his parents in 1888. Two years later the family moved to San Francisco. After completing his studies at the University of California in 1906, Mr. Fennimore joined his father in the California Optical Co., of which he himself is now president.

In the early 1850's, Joel E. Ferris' father came overland to California, returning to Illinois about 1857. While here, he left his mark on northern California history—literally, because as one of the organizers of Siskiyou County it was his duty to keep the first county records in his own handwriting. His son, the Society's new member, is chairman of the board of the Spokane and Eastern, a branch of the Seattle-First National Bank.

Gardiner Johnson is a native of San Jose. He received his A. B. at the University of California in 1926, and two years later completed the requirements for the J. D. degree. Since then he has practiced law in San Francisco. Mr. Johnson was elected assemblyman in 1934 and was successively re-elected. During his 12 years in the legislature, he sponsored many of the bills furthering the work of the University of California, and was active likewise in securing appropriations for historical surveys and the preservation of landmarks.

A. L. Johnston, president of the General Reporting Bureau in San Francisco, is department (state) historian of the United Spanish War Veterans, and is owner of "rather a substantial collection of Californiana"—for "a poor man," he adds.

Mrs. Ada Edwards Laughlin, who came to California in the early 1890's to enter Stanford University with the class of '98, has continued to reside in the state. She is interested especially in efforts to awaken a feeling of *personal* responsibility among Californians in the task of preserving our historical records.

Mrs. Oscar Lawler's father, Charles Brode, arrived in San Francisco in the 1850's. After working in the Comstock mines, he went to Los Angeles, where Mrs. Lawler was born in 1878. At that time, she says, "the inhabitants numbered about eight thousand . . . and it's been an interesting and exciting thing to see the development of a pueblo into what Los Angeles now stands for."

Coming from New Orleans, where he had a fertile field in which to acquire an interest in historical cities and towns, Marvin E. Lewis, one of the supervisors of San Francisco, has become a student of urban communities in this state.

Another student of history from without the state is David McC. McKell, president of the Chillicothe Telephone Co. in Ohio, and president also of the Ross County [Ohio] Historical Society. Colonel McKell, a West Point graduate with the class of 1904, served during World War I in the 12th Field Artillery, 2nd Division. The war over, he attended the San Francisco Law School (class of 1922), and practiced his profession in San Francisco until 1939, when he returned to Chillicothe and took up his present work.

An amateur sailor of world-wide experience, namely a 9,000-mile trip from Chicago to San Francisco last year in Mr. Frank Kent's 60-foot cutter *White Cloud*, as well as a participant some seven years earlier in the San Francisco-Honolulu yacht race, Webster A. McKenzie now is interested in making land voyages around San Francisco's early-day streets, with occasional side trips to the mother lode country and other historic places.

John B. Morse, a son of Samuel F. B. Morse, one of the Society's members, was born in San Francisco. He attended St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, going directly afterward to Yale University (class of 1934). After graduating, Mr. Morse went into the advertising business, first with Lord and Thomas and then with Blackett, Sample and Hummert, of which he was made vice-president. From 1941-1945 he served in the U. S. Navy (rank of commander), and upon resuming private life became president and director of the Del Monte Properties Company.

Fred D. Parr is a native son who has confidence in the state's future, and whose office as president of the Parr-Richmond Terminal Corp. gives him intimate knowledge of the local complexities affecting that future, as well as a chance to assist in guiding it.

A life of such varied experiences in teaching and in educational administrative work from Maine to Menlo Park, California, as that of Franklin Eugene Perham, is difficult to describe in a Marginalia note. He was born in East Wilton, Maine, on October 21, 1857, attended preparatory academies and colleges there, coming finally from Bowdoin College to Stanford University. Included among innumerable teaching and administrative assignments were the following which covered longer periods: principal of the Santa Ana High School, from 1891-97; teacher of English at the Lowell High School in San Francisco, 1901-15; head of the English Department at the San Francisco Polytechnic High School, 1915-27; and eight years were spent in teaching English in the Dental School of the University of California. From 1927-30, he taught his well-loved subject at the Menlo Junior College.

John E. Porter, secretary and sales manager ("rock peddler," as he styles himself) of the Granite Rock Co. of Watsonville, whose quarry is at Logan, had a lieutenant governor of California as father, preceded by a sheriff of Santa Cruz County and collector of the port of Monterey as grandfather. His mother, Mrs. Mary Easton Porter, and his uncles, Stanley Easton of

Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, and Robert Easton of Santa Barbara (together with the late Kimball Gushee Easton), are children of the Rev. Giles A. Easton, who came to California in 1853 and married the daughter of Horace Gushee, a pioneer of 1849. Mr. Porter knows and appreciates the paisano stories as told by what he calls "the fast fading 'viejos' of this vicinity." These he passes on to such lighthearted but discriminating audiences as the Rancheros Visitadores and the members of E Clampus Vitus. Tales thus rendered represent, obviously, a not unimportant contribution to oral Californiana, although Mr. Porter disclaims any talent in that direction.

For his career as a mining engineer, D. L. Rigden, a native of Fort Collins, Colorado, studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at the University of California. His employment by various mining companies has taken him as far afield as Alaska and South America, not to mention the intermediate points. At present he is port engineer for the Tide Water Associated Oil Co. in San Francisco.

Winfield Scott Runde, born in San Francisco in 1877 of German and English parents, became totally deaf at the age of twelve. This constituted no handicap as far as it concerned Mr. Runde's education and contributions to human society, for, after attending the California State School for the Deaf, and later graduating from the Government College for the Deaf in Washington, D. C., he became head teacher (1903-08) at the North Dakota State School for the Deaf, editor of the North Dakota *Banner*, and from 1908 to 1938 was teacher of history at his alma mater. His degrees include an M. A., granted in 1905, and Honorary Master of Pedagogy (1938). Mr. Runde is a member of the Northern California Council for the Education of Handicapped Children.

Practicing a profession whose origin is in remote antiquity—investment banking—Sidney L. Schwartz has combined the senior partnership in Sutro & Co. with service as trustee and treasurer of both the San Francisco Boys' Club and the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum. During 1923-30 and 1942-43 Mr. Schwartz was president of the San Francisco Stock Exchange. He is a San Franciscan, born in 1886.

Mrs. Maurice D. Smith, though a great-granddaughter of Heber C. Kimball who helped found Utah, had to petition for U. S. citizenship, in order to correct the tactical error of having been born in Magrath, Alberta, Canada. At present Mrs. Smith is engaged in writing for various magazines, particularly on the subject of adobe buildings in California.

Roland George Swaffield was born in Coldwater, Michigan, and studied at the University of Michigan, graduating in 1906 with the degree of LL. B. The same year he began the practice of law in Coldwater, and the year following moved to Long Beach where he has continued his profession. During 1940 and 1941 he was special counsel for Long Beach in tideland litigation involving title to oil minerals underlying city harbor lands. Mr. Swaffield served as captain of coast artillery in the first world war.

Another new member "sailor" is Homer C. Votaw, a native of Alaska, who not only sails ships but has "considerable data in scrap books, logbooks, etc." It is not surprising, consequently, to have him tell us that he has visited many of the Pacific Islands, or that he is preparing the history of our Pacific naval bases for the Naval Institute. He has already prepared "a summary of over 1100 books on Pacific exploration that gives a brief outline of the places commented upon . . ." from which he offers very kindly to furnish data to other members of the Society. Mr. Votaw is a member of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Charles Corwin White is the third of the new members to have had practical experience in sailing the seas in ketches or yachts. He was born in New Jersey, and after graduating from Yale University entered the building business, becoming at the youthful age of twenty-six president of the Manger Hotel Chain in New York City. Then he cruised for a year before returning to business. During the past war Mr. White served with the Red Cross in the Pacific Coast area. He is a student of national affairs on which he lectures and acts as consultant. At present he is chairman of the Napa County Centennials Committee.

George Cossitt White is a descendant of Milwaukee pioneer Whites and Ludingtons, his mother having been the daughter of Harrison Ludington, governor of Wisconsin, 1875. The family began coming to Pasadena in 1892, with the result that five generations have lived there. Mr. White is a descendant of the *Mayflower* contingent and holds office in several patriotic organizations. With his wife, whose family has lived in California for 95 years, he writes songs which have met with considerable success.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Henry Douglas Bacon

(1813-1893)

By MILTON H. SHUTES

HENRY D. BACON was an honorable money-maker and philanthropic resident both of St. Louis in Missouri and of Oakland in California. In St. Louis the Mercantile Library remains, in large part, to his credit; on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, old brick "Bacon Hall" houses the headquarters of the Geology Department; and off in a dark corner of another building on the campus stands a marble statue sculptured at Bacon's behest for Abraham Lincoln.

Henry Bacon was born in East Granville, Massachusetts. From fifteen years of age until he was twenty-two, he turned a talented hand to business in Hartford, Connecticut. The next year he left New England for St. Louis, and before long was a partner in a leading drygoods firm. Bacon was also interested in the iron trade until 1844 when he married Julia Ann Page, daughter of the wealthy Daniel D. Page, who, from 1829 to 1832, had been mayor of St. Louis. Page took his son-in-law into his flour business. Soon the enterprising youth had persuaded the older man to join him in forming a banking house.¹ W. T. Sherman says of the partnership that Page's wealth consisted in St. Louis real estate; he "was an old man, and a good one . . . he knew little of banking as a business. This part of his general business was managed exclusively by his son-in-law Henry D. Bacon, who was young, handsome, and generally popular."²

The new firm was immediately off to a good start. During the Mexican War, these good Democrats profited tremendously, for St. Louis was the distributing center for the army. Big sums of money passed through their hands. This was the time, also, of the great migration of political protestants from Europe. They were called "Forty-eighters," and were mostly Germans with means. Large numbers settled in, or in the vicinity of, St. Louis. The city boomed; so did farming land on both sides of the Mississippi.³ Then followed the year of the "Forty-niners." Page & Bacon sent Francis W. Page, son of the senior partner, to establish an express company in San Francisco. In June 1850, it became the bank of Page, Bacon & Co.⁴ David Chambers and Henry Haight (governor of California, 1867-71) were made the agents in San Francisco, while the younger Page represented the company in Sacramento.⁵ Page & Bacon was the leading bank of St. Louis; and Page, Bacon & Co. was, as long as both lasted, the same in San Francisco.⁶

When large-scale railroad construction began in earnest in the eastern part of the country, Page & Bacon was the first St. Louis business house to aid the Missouri Pacific R. R. It also advanced money to the Belleville (Illinois) and St. Louis and the Northern Missouri railroads. (The latter is now

a part of the Wabash system.) Because these men also advanced large sums to meet city and county bond obligations, they were regarded as public benefactors. Both were personally and unostentatiously liberal. In 1851, Bacon was elected president of the Mercantile Library Association of St. Louis and subscribed for \$20,000 worth of stock in the Mercantile Library Hall Company, which was established to house the library and provide a public hall for the city. He gave many thousands of dollars to his church, to Webster College, and to the Home of the Friendless.⁷

Transportation, cheap and slow, from the East to St. Louis came down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. As one of the few men in 1853 to see the necessity of a direct railroad route, Bacon advanced funds to complete the greater portion of the Ohio & Mississippi R. R. from Cincinnati to St. Louis.⁸ The year 1854 brought signs of a business recession. Page & Bacon experienced its first difficulties. When the contractors who were building the road from Vincennes, Indiana, to St. Louis were unable to repay their loans, Page & Bacon was compelled to take over the contract and its liabilities. By fall, one of the largest sugar companies in the country failed in St. Louis; Page & Bacon held much of their discredited paper. Alarmed, Page came to San Francisco to raise and transport to St. Louis all available gold from Page, Bacon & Co.⁹ Approximately \$1,000,000 in gold dust was sent on two steamers. Bacon applied in person to his New York banking allies, Duncan, Sherman & Co.; as he was accompanied by the well-known capitalist William H. Aspinwall,¹⁰ and was armed with excellent securities, he was promised a loan of \$100,000. Upon his arrival home he found a telegram from his fair-weather friends canceling all promises, to which Bacon replied by wire: "For God's sake do not desert us; if you do we are ruined and half of St. Louis with us." Page & Bacon locked their St. Louis doors on January 13, 1855, but reopened them on February 15, in anticipation of receiving gold from San Francisco.¹¹ Storms and accidents, however, delayed the steamers.¹²

On February 17 the news of the January 13 closing in St. Louis reached San Francisco on the Pacific Mail S. S. *Oregon* and started a short run on Page, Bacon & Co.'s depleted resources. The *Alta California* and other newspapers wrote reassuring editorials in praise of the honor and business ability of the combined houses.¹³ The *Alta* also published a letter from Aspinwall, expressing his confidence in the skill and integrity of Bacon.¹⁴ In its issue of February 23 the paper ran an editorial headlined, "The Crisis Past"; but in another column appeared the announcement by Page, Bacon & Co. that, "We must suspend . . . to prevent a run and to pay all obligations. . . . House is solvent."

February 23, 1855, was long remembered in California as Black Friday, because a general banking collapse was precipitated by Page, Bacon & Co.'s suspension the previous day (not then observed as a holiday in San Fran-

cisco). Adams & Co., mismanaged by that aberrant character Isaiah C. Woods, went into immediate receivership.¹⁵ Only the name of Wells Fargo has survived to the present day. Page, Bacon & Co., with local moral and financial support, made a valorous attempt at reorganization; but the vicious circle that had developed between the St. Louis house and its San Francisco affiliate (coupled with their mutual dependence upon gold shipments that were riding the uncertain waves) forced the latter to close its doors on May 2, 1855, the day after the news at last reached San Francisco that the St. Louis house had been closed for a month (since April third). The name of the firm continued to appear in the San Francisco directories during 1856-58. No mention of it was made in 1859 except after F. W. Page, "agent of Page, Bacon & Co.," but it reappeared the next year, followed by "in liquidation" in parentheses, office F. W. Page, SE cor. Sacramento and Leidesdorff. By 1863 the name had disappeared from the city directories. Family and newspaper sources indicate that all possible means were taken to satisfy the creditors of both houses, including *pro rata* division of proceeds from the sale of Daniel Page's extensive Missouri real estate holdings. Among these was the Martin Koontz tract near St. Louis.¹⁶

Page & Bacon's real estate offices in St. Louis were at Main and Vine streets. In 1859 Bacon's name as an individual is omitted from that city's directory; assumption could place him in New York in the interest of his pet project, the Ohio & Mississippi R. R. In the 1860 edition he is given as vice-president of the road and as "boarding" at the Barnum Hotel. The next directory appeared in 1864. It lists Bacon as superintendent of the road and as still boarding at the Barnum Hotel. His name is not found in the 1865 issue, which can be interpreted to mean that he was in Europe, in all probability rounding up investors in the O. & M. Whether he was a converted Republican or a Union Democrat, he was an enthusiastic emancipationist; and when, on this business trip, he discovered a European sculptor who was also a great admirer of President Lincoln, the two collaborated over the design for a marble group to be sent to the Emancipator.

Bacon's last appearance in the St. Louis directory was in 1866, not, however, as a resident but as a trustee of the St. Louis Medical College. He was on his way to California via Mexico, where he must have succeeded in his mining ventures, for when his name appears for the first time in the 1867 San Francisco directory it is as a mining agent, SW cor. Front and Jackson streets, with residence in Oakland. He was to try his hand for a year at being a merchant; another, according to the directory for 1869, as president of the Pacific Express,¹⁷ and another in partnership with his brother-in-law as "Bacon & Page" in San Francisco, before he settled down in 1872 to the business of real estate. In this he continued until 1885 when he was first listed as "capitalist," office NW cor. Sansome and California streets, with the customary suburban notation that he resided in Oakland. There, on Oak

Street, he had built an impressive home—a place of Victorian splendor. It stood in the center of a wooded area and fronted on the north arm of the estuary, with a terrace to break the slope to the water.¹⁸

Bacon's interest in mining prompted him to invest heavily in the Belcher mine on the Comstock lode; but, tiring of paying assessments, he missed a great fortune by selling out a few days before its bonanza strike.¹⁹ There were other interests, however: the San Francisco & Colorado River R. R. Co., for example, of which, in July 1872, he was one of the original directors, together with John Parrott, Peter Donahue, Henry M. Newhall, W. T. Coleman, W. C. Ralston, and others;²⁰ and the Blue Lakes Water Co.²¹

On November 23, 1877, in a letter to the regents of the University of California, Bacon announced that it was his purpose to present to that institution a large part of his "collection of works of art, sculpture and paintings, and a library of several thousand volumes of standard and miscellaneous works, selected with much care." As to its value, he said that he did "not anticipate adverse criticism from the well informed" when he placed on it a value of \$50,000 ("they have cost me much more," he added). His plan included giving \$25,000 in money, "provided the State will appropriate a like sum at the next meeting of the Legislature" toward the building in which the collection was to be housed. An interesting suggestion in this letter was that "the San Francisco Art Association [established in 1871], if agreeable to your Board, might desire to become auxiliary to the University" in the matter of fostering the arts, and that what it had already done in this respect would do "much in adorning the walls of the proposed structure with specimens of the choicest works, and that, too, without cost to the University."²²

On August 23, 1881, in an address at the dedication of the Bacon Art and Library Building, held in connection with the inauguration of W. T. Reid as president of the university, he stated:²³

. . . My relations with Abraham Lincoln had been most pleasant and intimate before his election to the Presidency, and when through his providential guidance slavery in the United States was abolished, I wished to give him something which should be at once substantial and emblematic of his agency in the sublime result. Business took me to Europe about that time and I found an artist in Munich (Professor John Halbig) who was an ardent admirer of Lincoln and who was also thoroughly imbued with love of liberty for all the human family. He was ready to symbolize in marble the idea and the act of Emancipation, and between us the model of the "Abolition of Slavery" grew into something of its present perfection. . . .

It took some years for the artist to execute the work and before it was complete our country . . . was thrown into the deepest sorrow by the assassination of the good and great Lincoln. I was therefore unable to carry out my purpose, and the statue is now in the custody of the State of California.

For years the statue stood in the Bacon Building. Now it is truly in *custody*: the life-size figure of Columbia, standing above the nude slave

girl, is safely hidden from prankish students in the basement of the Women's Gymnasium on the Berkeley campus.

Mr. H. D. B. Soulé, grandson of Henry D. Bacon, remembers that his mother, Ella Bacon Soulé, often stated that Lincoln had at one time urged her father to try for congress, promising his help. However, the recorded evidence that has been found of the "most pleasant" relations between the two is entirely legal and consists of the following items. The letter published here for the first time is an exact transcription of the original in the possession of Mr. Soulé.

"Springfield, May 31, 1856

"Messrs. Page and Bacon

"Gentlemen:

"The letters of Mr. Parsons [legal adviser to Page & Bacon²⁴] of the 22nd, accompanied, by one to Mr. Dickson [U. S. marshal²⁵] and also the one from Mr. Dickson to your Mr. Bacon, owing to my absence, was received on yesterday only—I went to Mr. Dickson at once, and I had a conference with him—I do not think he is acting in bad faith—He is a new Marshall, and when I made the agreement with Mr. Parsons, he did not know of the law and regulations out of which the difficulty grows—The sum of the difficulty is that the confident [one who acts as a trustee] is entitled to a contingent residuum of his fees and emoluments, and he fears and believes he cannot likely lessen or destroy the residuum—He says the Judge is of that opinion; and really I have fears of it myself, although it did not occur to me, when the stipulation was made—

"Mr. Dickson instructs me to say to you that he wishes nothing for himself beyond what he stipulated for; but that he can not make a false oath to conceal the real truth of the transaction; and he can not subject himself to pay a large sum, or any sum, to the government, out of his own pocket—He says if you give him perfect security that he shall lose nothing, he is still willing to stand to his agreement—Herewith I send you a statement of the matter handed me by Mr. Dickson, containing references to the law and instructions—your counsel at St. Louis can examine the question; and if they conclude you can not safely give the security, so much the more certain is it that Mr. Dickson can not safely proceed without it—

"In the meantime I shall try to examine the question more fully myself—

"Yours truly,
"A. Lincoln—"

Lincoln had just returned from the historic Bloomington Convention where he electrified an embryonic state party. He had left home a conservative, old-line Whig and returned a middle-of-the-roader Republican. It was an exciting time, with the first national Republican convention just ahead; but as his only income came from his law practice, it was essential to leave

his first love for a time and pay court to his second. The above letter indicates an important legal affair entangling a new U. S. marshal and of sufficient importance to cause him to hurry an explanatory letter off to Page & Bacon, whom he represented in central Illinois.

Lincoln and William J. Underwood represented Page & Bacon in a suit held in the Macoupin County circuit court in Carlinville, Illinois, on September 6, 1855;²⁶ not until the following February did Lincoln find the time or interest to concern himself with his fee. He wrote to his good friend Gustave Koerner, the opposing counsel, asking him what had been the amount of his fee, "as I wish to regulate my claim somewhat by yours."²⁷ The legal case referred to was probably a friendly suit by Page & Bacon against the Ohio & Mississippi R. R. for money loaned the company and badly needed for the former's bank liquidation.

The following portion of a letter from Lincoln to Koerner (lieutenant governor by this time), dated July 10, 1857, dovetails with the letter to Page & Bacon, quoted above, and explains it in part.²⁸

"Hon. G. Koerner.

"Springfield, 1857.

"Dear Sir:

"... The judgment to Page and Bacon against the Ohio and Miss. Railroad Company in the United States court here, was taken, by confession on a cognovit, at the March term, 1856, for the sum of \$312,413.74 including costs. Execution issued April 6th, 1856, which was by order of the plaintiffs returned unsatisfied, sale having been postponed June 6, 1856. While it was in the hands of the Marshal it was levied on the entire property of the Road (as I suppose, a large amount at any rate) which levy remains undisposed of.

"Yours very truly,

"A. Lincoln."

The sight draft on Page & Bacon, dated March 14, 1857, which is reproduced here, was undoubtedly payment in part, or in full, for legal services in the Page & Bacon *vs.* O. M. R. R. suit. Robert Irwin was secretary of the Marine and Fire Insurance Co. (and bank) where Lincoln kept his money. When Lincoln left Springfield for Washington, Irwin was his financial agent in Springfield and remained so until both died in 1865.²⁹

Henry D. Bacon's respect and admiration for President Lincoln, and his emotional and political opposition to Negro slavery, had tried to find expression in the marble symbol described above. Though thwarted in this by the President's death, the feeling lived on in Bacon's philanthropies to colored folk. At his funeral, two days after his death on February 19, 1893, a large chorus of them stood on the lawn singing their spirituals.³⁰

NOTES

1. John Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), II, 1374-75.
2. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman by Himself* (New York, 1875), I, 108.
3. Scharf, *loc. cit.*
4. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 414-15, 513.
5. The California agents for Page, Bacon & Co. are not specified in the San Francisco directory for 1852-53, but appear the next year in advertisements of the firm in San Francisco newspapers as well as in the city directory.
6. Scharf, *loc. cit.* Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 109, says: "Beyond all comparison Page, Bacon & Co. were the most prominent bankers in California in 1853-55." Sherman, it will be remembered, belonged to the rival house of Lucas, Turner & Co.
7. Scharf, *loc. cit.*
8. This road was merged with the Baltimore & Ohio in 1893.
9. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), p. 374, says that the senior Page made his first trip to California in 1853, and recounts the pleasantries between Page and his son, Francis, in regard to the size of California onions.
10. Some seven years before (April 1848), Aspinwall had been one of the organizers of the Pacific Mail SS. Co. (H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, VI, 129, note 4; J. H. Kemble, "The Genesis of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company," this *QUARTERLY*, XIII, Sept. 1934, 244-245.)
11. Dorothy H. Huggins, *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc. Sp. Pub. 15, 1939), pp. 38-39, records that the news of Page & Bacon's resumption of payments was brought on the Pacific Mail SS. Co.'s *John L. Stephens*, which arrived in San Francisco March 16, 1855.
12. Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire; History of Banking in California* (Chicago, 1927), I, 71, 188-90.
13. *Alta California*, Feb. 18, 1855.
14. *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1855.
15. Milton H. Shutes, *Lincoln and California* (Stanford University, 1943), p. 94, note.
16. For a consecutive account of the attempts to fulfill their obligations, see Huggins, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 37, 39, 45, and 95. By late fall of 1855, 60% had already been paid on drafts, and a further payment of 10% was announced.
17. Colville's *San Francisco Directory*, 1856-57, p. 166, gives a brief historical sketch of the Pacific Express Co., saying that it was organized March 12, 1855, "immediately subsequent to the failure of the great house of Adams & Co. by a number of the employees. . . . A reorganization of the concern has recently taken place, which with enlarged capital, gives increased facilities." In 1869, upon completion of the transcontinental railroad, it was again reorganized by Lloyd Tevis and others, with privileges obtained by contract with the Central and Union Pacific railroads. Consolidation with Wells Fargo & Co. followed, under the latter's name. (John S. Hittell, *Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1882, pp. 186-87. See also E. A. Wiltsee and W. R. Parker, "The Franks of the Everts Express," reprinted from *Collectors Club Philatelist*, X, July 1931, 9.)
18. San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb. 20, 1893, p. 4, cols. 1-2.
19. Hittell, *op. cit.*, p. 742, lists the dividends declared by the Belcher mine, 1872-76. There were none in 1871; the year 1873 showed the highest with \$6,760,000; and in 1876 dividends amounting to \$416,000 were declared. The same authority (*ibid.*, p. 302)

says that Belcher was one of those who took up early claims and sold out, most of them for small sums; several died in abject poverty. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 106, mentions "E. Belcher" among the locators on the Comstock prior to September 1, 1859.

20. Bancroft, *History of California, op. cit.*, VII, 610, note 13.

21. Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1893, p. 5, col. 6. The statement therein that Bacon arrived in California in 1856 would seem to be a typographical error.

22. Regents of the University of California, *Minutes*, Dec. 13, 1877. The chair appointed a special committee consisting of regents Horatio Stebbins, J. West Martin, George Davidson, Joseph W. Winans and John Le Conte, with power to act on Mr. Bacon's proposition.

23. *Addresses at the Inauguration of W. T. Reid as President of the University of California . . .* (Sacramento, 1881). See also William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 206-10, for reproductions of a painting and piece of sculpture in the "Bacon Art and Library Building"; an outside as well as an inside view of the structure; and a picture of the donor.

24. Lewis B. Parsons, graduate of Harvard Law School, settled in Alton, Illinois, in 1844. He married Sarah Green Edwards of St. Louis in 1847. After her death, he married the wife's sister Julia Marie Edwards, cousin of Ninian West Edwards, who married Elizabeth Todd, sister of Mary Todd Lincoln. (For detailed sketch of Parsons, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 14, pp. 267-69.) Parsons became legal adviser to Page & Bacon, and served the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. (*History of Wayne and Clay Counties, Illinois*, Chicago, 1884, p. 202.)

25. Archimedes C. Dickson, a lumber and grain merchant of Jacksonville, Illinois, served as U. S. marshal of the U. S. circuit court for the southern district of Illinois from 1855 to 1859. He was enrolling and grossing clerk of the senate of the Illinois general assembly from 1848 to 1854. (*Illinois Blue Book*, 1931-32, Index.)

26. Clark & Morrison vs. Page & Bacon. Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861* (Springfield, Illinois: Abraham Lincoln Assoc., 1933), p. 88.

27. Gilbert A. Tracey, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1917), p. 65.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

29. Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Assoc., 1943), pp. 122-23.

30. "The Last Rites," Oakland *Enquirer*, Feb. 21, 1893.

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A. M. Rosborough, *Special Indian Agent*

By ALEX. J. ROSBOROUGH

THE old Indians in the Klamath River region are about all gone.¹ A short time ago "Captain" Ned, one of the chiefs, died at the remarkable age of 114 years; and on February 3, 1946, Mrs. Mary Ike, whose home was near the mouth of the Salmon River, succumbed in a Eureka hospital with 101 years to her credit.² Her husband, Little Ike, was the son of Chief Yah-Fee-Pah.

The crowding out and resulting starvation of these Indians began in 1850, at the time of the influx of miners to the rich placer bars along the main river and its tributaries. Even the mountainsides teemed with the intruders, among whom were avowed gamblers and the riff-raff of human society. Deer were either scared away from the little valleys or were killed outright by the whites; and the river and its feeding creeks were diverted or so filled with muddy water, washed in from the mines, that the taking of salmon and steelhead, two of the principal articles of food of the natives, became impossible. Added to these disasters, the Indians were continuously imposed upon and sometimes hunted and shot on trumped-up charges of an outbreak against the whites. When the small clashes developed into larger and very serious fighting, the Federal government, realizing that the situation must be taken in hand, appointed a special Indian agent for northern California to hear complaints and adjust differences, until suitable arrangements could be made to care for the Indians on reservations. My father, the late Judge A. M. Rosborough, was selected to undertake this duty.³ The territory was large, for the Indians in "northern California" included those along the Pitt River, the upper Sacramento River, in present Modoc County, in the Shasta and Scott valleys, as well as the Klamath River Indians, the ones most seriously affected by the influx of miners being those living along the Klamath River and in Scott and Shasta valleys. His work, which involved traveling among the various tribes, straightening out their difficulties and sometimes furnishing food to keep them from starving, was arduous and was often discouraging owing to the inhuman acts of worthless white men. The Indians placed great confidence in my father, and long after military posts had been established and he had resigned as special Indian agent to become county, then district judge, they continued to bring him their troubles for adjustment.⁴ Consequently, during my boyhood in Yreka I came to know many of the Indians, several of whom figured in the Modoc wars during 1872 and '73; and all the letters quoted below are now in my possession.

Some idea of the seriousness of the acts perpetrated by irresponsible whites can be found in a letter written by my uncle, J. B. Rosborough, from Crescent City on January 17, 1854, to my father, then at Weitchpec, at the

junction of the Trinity with the Klamath, where he had gone to adjust some complaints made by the Indians. The letter is lengthy, going much into detail, and is quoted only in part. He wrote that a false report about the Indians had been put into circulation and a company "of 15 or 20 of the most trifling rabble" among the whites started in pursuit. Although "they could find nothing but trees in the redwoods and were convinced that that was a false rumor," they went to the ranchería on the lake and killed, according to their own figures, about thirty. The letter continues:

Among them, I have since learned, [were] many old men, children and women. The revolting details are only now leaking out and are beginning to shock all sense of humanity in the community. This is not all; they went about the country shooting down Indians wherever they could find them—attacking them at their fishing, dragging them from the houses of white men who had had them in their employment laboring, and taking them off and murdering them. Then they started to go up and kill off the Indians in Smith River Valley, but they were met at the river and ordered away by a portion of the settlers who were disgusted with the lawless marauders, and were unmolested by the Indians.⁵ They have begun to hide their heads now, but will always be ready when a fresh budget of lies can be started. I turn with loathing and disgust from the theme.

By January, and during February and March of 1854, the Indians in and around Scott Valley, Siskiyou County, fell victims to the lack of wild game and fish. Referring to this situation, my father wrote to T. J. Henley, superintendent of Indian affairs for California at San Francisco, on October 25, 1854, as follows:

Since my last letter, the Indians through the northern part of California have continued to be at peace with the Whites. I wrote to you from Shasta and in that letter spoke of the necessity of furnishing the Indians with some food. I have, by the advice of the commanding officer at Fort Jones, furnished the Indians when greatly in need of it. If you direct me not to issue any beef, I will stop, though I feel satisfied that if you were here you would approve.

There was much delay, because of "red tape," in securing payment for food supplied to the Indians, making it difficult to keep those under Chief Nick from starving. Elisha Steele,⁶ one of the early ranchers in Scott Valley, was a highly respected man, afterwards elected the first superior judge of Siskiyou County. He had been furnishing beef to the Indians, and at the bottom of a bill for meat supplied in January, February, and March 1854, on which appeared the amount delivered to each Indian, specifically mentioned by name, Steele wrote to my father:

This you will please certify to Colonel Beal [Col. E. F. Beale preceded T. J. Henley as superintendent of Indian affairs for California] although not delivered according to your instructions [instructions from the department were that meat was to be delivered to each Indian, at Fort Jones, in the presence of an officer] owing to the inability of the Indians to go to the Fort, just when delivered to Nick. He will probably allow; if not, no charge is made, as humanity required the issue.

Following his letter of October 25, 1854, and the coming of the new year,

my father had signified his wish to retire as special agent in northern California, as he wanted to enter the practice of law at Yreka; it was not, however, until March 1855 that S. G. Whipple was appointed special Indian agent for the lower Klamath River and Crescent City area.⁷ In the meantime, the Indians, under the leadership of Red Cap, a renegade of the Klamath tribe, started on the rampage along the upper river. Companies of whites immediately began to organize at various mining camps in the vicinity of the raids, with the expressed intention of exterminating the Indians. The situation was intensified, first, because no distinction was made between "good" Indians and "bad" Indians, and secondly, because some of the companies were made up of substantial men from the mines, whereas others were composed of vicious rabble. There was also conflict between the whites themselves as to interference by companies of one county in the Indian affairs of a neighboring county. On these subjects I quote (without editing) from letters written at that time. Though some are revolting, the true conditions then existing can only be understood from such on-the-scene records. Written as they are by different men and from separated places, they indicate a determination to kill off the Indians along the Klamath River.

Big Bend, Jan'y. 5, 1855.

Mssr's McDonald & Young,
Sirs:

We have organized ourselves up this river in order to exterminate this treacherous tribe that we now exist amongst. We have come to the conclusion generally here to attack these Indians at daylight next Tuesday morning. We have organized in small squads each squad for each ranch. This is the plan laid between us in general. If you can make any effect to any advantage on your Indians, try and do so. But try and keep it as close as you can, for we wish to affect them as well as possible. The general opinion is to come down as far as your place or below. If you want help you must try and send word to the boys up above you on the Klamath and Trinity and do it in a way that there will be no suspicion. We in general feel anxious to see each of our citizens righted. I must say there is some little detention and remorse of feeling in relation to certain Indians and I think is well calculated to work against us, though we will try and give them a dam good grubbing and *abide by the result*—Mr. Willson will acquaint you of our plans probably better than I can, though you may make your plans as soon as possible there will be war here certain. Please excuse me for being plain in my opinion, I yours for ever, Truly etc.

Stephen Smith⁸

P.S. Ola Jack is making all preparations to give the red sons of bitches a drubbing. He says he is with you to the last.

At Big Bar,⁹ a company was organized by Wm. M. Young, calling themselves "Big Bar Rifle Rangers, Klamath River and County," and the following officers were elected January 31, 1855:

"Captain, Wm. M. Young; First Lieut., Jno. T. Carey, 2nd Lieut., Saml. P. Tuley; First Sarjent, James M. Sims; 2nd Do. Fredk. J. Coffine; 3rd Do.

David Sutherland; 4th Do. Robt. M. Irving; First Corporal, Samuel Clark; 2nd Do. William Noble; 3rd Do. George A. Somes, 4th Do. John Sleight."

Below are the names of the men who made up its numbers:¹⁰

Alexander, Benjamin	Johnson, Andrew H.	Thompson, Thomas R.
Briston, Charles	Lawson, Albert	Vogan, James H.
Butterfield, Charles P.	Larson, Hans	Wilson, Lewis
Cameron, Duncan	Lewekamp, John	Ward, Michael R.
Clark, M. S.	Lind, William	
Cushing, I. H.	Maher, Patrick	Feb. 22nd
Cody, Francis	Merrill, Andrew	Henry, William P.
Cunliff, William	Monroes, Thomas	Murphy, Michael
Forbes, Robert	Pool, Thomas	Requa, James
Frantre, Edward	Shelton, William F.	Noble, Stephen
Folks, Giles A.	Smith, Stephen	King, William
Ferris, William	Smith, McDuffee	Reese, William
Francis, Jewitt	Smith, Guy B.	Hale, William
Goodwin, Madison	Spinney, William	Hirsch, George
Graham, James	Sutherland, Daniel	Philips, Oscar
Hunt, Henry	Sutherland, John	Wills, Robert W.
Jones, John S.	Sutherland, Roderick	White, George

In the meantime, the letter quoted below was received from G. A. Flower:

Flowers Flat

Feb. 3rd, 1855

Mr. Rosebery [Rosborough]—

Dear Sir:

I have been talking with the boys in this vicinity in regard to getting up a small Company for the protection of this portion of this River. You are aware of the damage that has already been done. The Indians who have done this damage are now in this vicinity and are trying to get other Indians to *join* them for the purpose of Destroying Life and Property.

In consideration of the above facts we wish you to see the Capt. of the Regular Troops and get his consent for us to raise a small Company. We will hunt out the Indians in this vicinity and about the heads of Camp, Rocky, Dillons, and Blue Creeks. We fully understand this portion of the mountains and are of the opinion that we can be of Service.

I am of the opinion that those Indians will make a brake for the places above mentioned and that a large Company cannot follow them.

Now Mr. Rosebery if you can succeed in getting an order for us you will confer upon us a great favor. We will furnish our own arms and clothing all we ask of Government at present is provisions. Please excuse haste and Believe me.

Yours truly,

G. A. Flower

Mr. Rosebery [Rosborough], *Indian Agent*, Orleans Bar

Another letter, probably written at or near the junction of the Klamath and Trinity rivers, also indicates that the whites along the former were organizing to fight the Indians:

Friend Fletcher:

After my respects to you and J. J. Arington I wish to post you up in regard to affairs

in this County. We have 3 Co's of men out in persuit of Indians. The two Woodward's have a Co. each which are pulling against the interest of this County all the men that has any interest on this River or in the County belong to my Company. I think is a d—d shame that the interest of people living on this River should be trampled upon by men belonging to other Counties. I have organized a Company of the best men in the County, rejecting all that are not good, also refuse those that do not belong to the County. Our sub Agent Mr. Rosebourdg [Rosborough] has been here for some time with us. I find him to be a gentleman and a man that is perfectly familiar with Indian affairs. He says that my Company shall be recommended to the last word when he gets below. I have taken Mr. R's advice and will not attempt anything until I can get power to act, then I will act against all hell or protect the Citizens of Klamath County which now are trampled upon. Mr. R. will do his best for our Company. I have but a minute to write so I must subscribe Good Bye until I can see you

W. M. Young

P.S. The County is up side down and will be unless someone is at the head of affairs

The following letter illustrates the great difficulties encountered by my father. Most of the Indians did not want to fight the whites, but the brutal acts of the debased among the latter, acting under a blanket of numerical strength, perpetrated unjust acts against the Indians, destroying their confidence and arousing suspicion and resentment.

Klamath County, Feb. 26th, 1855

Mr. A. M. Rosborough

Dear Sir

After my respects to you I will inform you of the latest intelligence on the River—No fighting has been done since your departure C. Woodward's Co. has gone down the River started soon after you left I have had no news from him since he left. Wm. Woodward's Co. still remains where you let them just below my House. They have singled out all the squaws compelling them to sleep with some man every night. This causes great excitement the Bucks complain daily of it.¹¹ Their acts since you left have been disgraceful. If you remember one of the squaws had a child while you were here. Since then the child has died the same afternoon one of the men of the party says now I will have a squaw to sleep with same day of the death of the child beat the squaw until she could not walk because she would not consent to sleep with him. This shocking state of affairs people cannot tolerate long something must be done people here look for you to do something thinking your influence below will have great weight. The citizens would like to have you our Agent prefer you to any other man that can be found.

God only knows when this difficulty will be settled Citizens talk of leaving the County discouraged at the prospect for piece. The conduct of those two Cos. has been more disgraceful since you left than before. They only wanted you out of the way.

I will consider it a favor to hear from you I will write again when I have a better opportunity.

In haste Respectfully yours

Wm. M. Young

While matters up and down the river seemed to be drifting into a war between the whites and Indians, Rosborough was engaged in pow-wows with the Indians and consultation with the white men, in an endeavor to bring about an understanding that would provide for the punishment of the

marauding redskins, protect all friendly Indians, and guarantee the safety of the white men. By February 16, 1855, he had succeeded in bringing about the following agreement (in memorandum form, only, among my father's papers, and unsigned):

Whereas, The Indians on the Klamath River and vicinity have voluntarily proposed to turn out and aid in capturing and killing the Red Cap and other hostile Indians, under the direction and co-operation of the Whites—

And Whereas the undersigned deem it but just to give them a fair trial upon their own proposition and knowing the undisputable necessity of a unanimous co-operation of every white man on the river, in order to carry the plan into successful operation:

It is therefore proposed that the Captains of Companies (on behalf of their Companies) and all others on the river, who are desirous of bringing the present difficulties to as speedy a termination as possible, join in one plan, and all work together and pledge themselves to give the Indians, now on the River, time to show their sincerity in the proposition they have made.

It is further proposed that the whites, all along the River agree and pledge themselves not to attack or trouble the Indians remaining on the river, or suffer them to be attacked until the plan above proposed is fully tried.

In case the above plan should not succeed, it is further proposed and agreed, that no change of plan will be had, or attack made, without first having a consultation, as to what new plan should be adopted, in order that all the whites may work together and not be pulling against each other.

The great necessity, for co-operation, which all acknowledge, is the imperative reason for making this proposed agreement.

It represented one step in the process of establishing final peace.

Some thirty-odd years later, the heavy snowfall and flood of the winter of 1889-90 threatened the food supply of the whites along the upper Salmon River, and about a hundred of them left for the lower country. When they came to the Indian camp of Chief Yah-Fee-Pah and his son Little Ike, at the junction of Salmon River with the Klamath, they were nearly overcome with hunger. The Indians fed them acorn soup, deer meat, and dried salmon, and provided enough, also, for their journey to Orleans Bar.

NOTES

1. For tribal differentiation in this area, see A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D. C., 1925), pp. 1, 285-86.

2. It might be pointed out, as a detail in the appearance of this remarkable old lady, that the chins of the Yurok (lower Klamath River and adjacent coastal districts) squaws were tattooed with three vertical bars (noted more fully in "Indian Affairs on the Pacific," 34th Cong., 3d sess., H. Ex. Doc. 76, p. 65).

3. Rosborough's appointment appears in the *Register* [biennial] of *Officers and Agents in the Service of the United States*, 30th September 1855 (Washington, D. C., 1855), p. 89. For the destitution of the Indians at the time, causing them to raid the whites, see "Report of the Special Committee," in *Calif. Journ.* (Sen.), 1852, pp. 575 ff.; and "Indian Affairs on the Pacific," *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66, 85-86, 93-95. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge . . . Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1860), includes George Gibbs' "Journal of the Expedition of Col.

Redick McKee . . . 1851": see especially pp. 145-77 for description of the Indians and their natural habitat in this region.

4. A brief review of my father's life is given in *History of Siskiyou County* (Oakland, 1881), pp. 73, 84, 92. A. M. Rosborough was born in South Carolina, came to Siskiyou County in 1853, and joined in establishing the firm of Steele, Rosborough and Berry. At the general election of 1855 Rosborough received the 287 votes (he was the only candidate) cast for county judge, a position he filled until elected district judge in 1869.

5. For measures taken by the military in defense of the settlers in the Smith River area in 1862, see Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Del Norte County," this *QUARTERLY*, XXVI (March, 1947), pp. 5 ff.

6. *History of Siskiyou County*, *op. cit.*, p. 153, gives an account of Steele's and Rosborough's efforts in behalf of the Indians.

7. S. G. Whipple's appointment as special Indian agent is listed in *Register of Officers and Agents . . .*, *loc. cit.*

8. The name of Stephen Smith is usually associated with the town of Bodega. (H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, IV, 395-96; V, 724): that Smith died in San Francisco in 1855 at the age of 69. No information could be found about the individual mentioned here.

9. Near the mouth of the Trinity River. A. J. Bledsoe, *Indian Wars of the Northwest* (San Francisco, 1885), pp. 164-68, describes the raising of volunteer companies to fight the Indians in this district; also refers to Rosborough's recommendations with respect to conditions at Orleans Bar in Feb. 1855. Bledsoe lists Capt. Chesley Woodward from Salmon River; and a Capt. F. M. Woodward. See also Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 147, for description of Big Bar in 1851.

10. A company of some fifteen men was raised in the summer of 1854 for service against Indian raids (*History of Siskiyou County*, *op. cit.*, p. 136). The personnel differed entirely from the group named here.

11. An official report, concerning the situation described here and how it interfered with attempts to place Indians on reservations, says: "Some of the squaws are kept by white men. They will not remain if their tribe leaves, and the white men will prevent the tribe from going to keep their squaws." ("Indian Affairs on the Pacific," *op. cit.*, p. 94.)

Documentary

New Helvetia August 24, 1844

Mr Farrell

Dear Sir

I contemplate cutting a canal from the American Fork, to lead the water near to my establishment. I wish to commence operations so soon as possible, before doing so however, would be pleased that you would make an examination of the premises, and inform me, what mode would be the most advantageous to make the excavation, probable cost &c as I have been inform'd that you are a suitable person to apply to, for such information.

If not particularly engaged, would be glad you would come over as soon as convenient—

Very respectfully

Your obdt svt.

[SIGNED] J A Sutter [rubric]

On verso:

Mr — Farrell

San Rafael

From Jasper O'Farrell Papers in California Historical Society Collection.

The Yokayo Rancheria

By CHARLES KASCH

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY acres of the soil of California have been the site of a pure communal society since 1881, its members living in harmony with the laws of both state and nation. As will be shown, its organization has been validated by the Supreme Court of California and the title to its lands protected in perpetuity for the children of the original incorporators and their descendants.

This communal site is located on the Russian River, about five miles southeast of Ukiah, the county seat of Mendocino County, and approximately 100 miles north of San Francisco. The official name of the society is the Yokayo tribe of Indians; the common name of its property, the Yokayo rancheria.

According to well-informed sources, the Pomo Indians (members of the Hokan family), the group to which this tribe, the Yokaia-pomo, belongs, once occupied practically the whole of the Russian River watershed, the word itself, Yokaia—"south (end of the) valley"—appearing to have originated in the fusion of two villages, Shokadjal, upstream in Ukiah Valley, and Tatem, farther downstream.¹ Variations in the spelling as recorded in legal papers are of interest. In the Mexican grant from Pio Pico to Cayetano Juarez, approved on June 3, 1846,² the valley was called "Yokaya"; and in the patent from the United States to Juarez, the designation is similar, the "tract of land named Yokaya." The property was sold to S. C. Hastings at a sheriff's sale on March 25, 1859. In the certificate of sale the sheriff introduced a variant, describing it as "the ranch de Yokayo."³ Another spelling occurs in a deed from Cayetano Juarez to John Currey, where the *k* has become a *c*, "Yocayo."⁴ When the sheriff followed his certificate of sale to Hastings, referred to above, with a deed to the same individual, dated some seven months later, he described the valley as "the place formerly called 'Yokayo' and bounded on the south by the Rancho of Don Fernando Feliz and on the north, east and west by the country inhabited by the unchristianized Indians." It is in this instrument that the present spelling, "Yokayo," appears, shorn of the foreign prefix *de*,⁵ and is the one officially adopted by the Indians.

The lands in the Russian River Valley adjacent to Ukiah were held as communal property for generations by the progenitors of these Indians. Encroachment by the whites began in 1844,⁶ when Fernando Feliz obtained the Sanel grant, now known as Sanel Valley, the site of Hopland. Although, as was mentioned above, the grant to Juarez was made in 1846, conveying eight "sitios de ganado mayor," or eight places for cattle—approximately eight square leagues—the first actual settler in the Ukiah Valley seems to

have been John Parker, who drove in a band of cattle in 1850 or 1851.⁷ This was the beginning of the end of the ancestral life of the Indians, resulting ultimately in the creation of the Yokayo ranchería.

The 12,000-odd fertile acres now known as Ukiah Valley were the natural home of the Yokayo Indians within the memory of their four chiefs, Dick, Lewis, Bill, and Charley. While life was primitive, there were few real hardships. On the whole, the neighboring tribes were not warlike; the hills and lowlands teemed with game, deer, grouse, quail, ducks and geese; the streams abounded in fish, with salmon running up from the sea; the oaks yielded acorns, and anything lacking was obtained by barter with tribes to the east or on the seacoast to the west.⁸

The birthdays of the four Indian leaders are not known, but it is perhaps fair to assume that they were born about the 1830's. Bill died on August 13, 1901, and Charley on May 8, 1904. Chiefs Dick and Lewis survived them by a few years. It is regrettable that the social status of their parents within the tribe remains unknown. One might then have drawn conclusions regarding the inherited qualities that made their sons the spokesmen and co-chiefs of the tribe.

On March 3, 1851, Congress passed "An Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California." This was followed by general activity among claimants for Mexican grants, among them Juarez, who filed a petition on September 11, 1852, in which he sought confirmation of his title to the land called "Yokaya." Thus began litigation which in this case continued for twelve years and was concluded in the United States Supreme Court. The litigation was in accordance with white man's law, but there is no record that any rights of the Indians were recognized or claim made that they were entitled to be heard.

The Board of Land Commissioners rejected the petition of Juarez on November 7, 1854. However, on April 17, 1863, this decision was reversed by the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California and the claim was confirmed. An appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, but this court dismissed the appeal at its December term in 1864. The land named "Yokaya" was then surveyed, and a report and map were filed showing that the grant of Ukiah Valley contained 35,541.33 acres. On the 8th of March, 1867, a patent was issued by President Andrew Johnson to Cayetano Juarez, and thereby the lands of the Yokayo Indians in the Ukiah Valley were lost to them.⁹

During the litigation the rancho had a succession of owners. On August 16, 1852, Juarez conveyed Yokaya to Mariano G. Vallejo,¹⁰ and on February 9, 1867, Vallejo and Mortimer Ryan conveyed it to "John Currey, S. Clinton Hastings and Horace W. Carpentier."¹¹ These one-time owners of the Ukiah Valley were distinguished citizens of California. When the constitution of 1849 was adopted, Hastings became the first chief justice of

the state Supreme Court, but his name is perhaps chiefly remembered in connection with the Hastings College of the Law. One of the other owners, John Currey, became an associate justice of the California Supreme Court in 1862 and later was chief justice. The third grantee, Horace W. Carpentier, was an early mayor of Oakland.

Appropriation of the Indians' land did not await confirmation of the grant or the official survey of its boundaries. In 1856 a declaratory statement to pre-empt 160 acres was filed by Samuel Lowry.¹² It covered a portion of the present site of Ukiah and was the occasion for the influx of settlers. Originally, Mendocino was a part of Sonoma County, but on March 11, 1859, it was organized as a county by act of legislature, Ukiah was chosen as the county seat, and a brick court house erected.¹³ The gold rush had carried the early miners and all who followed in their train in the direction of the Sierra. The great valley and the coastal regions, from the vicinity of San Francisco Bay southward, were more than ample to meet the requirements of pioneer ranchers in the matter of acreage, and accessibility to navigable streams and safe harbors; consequently the white man did not penetrate the upper Russian River Valley for genuine settlement until a few years before the Civil War. As was previously noted, it was characterized in 1859 as "the country inhabited by the unchristianized Indians." But the prospect of free land was attractive, and before Juarez' title to the Yokaya grant was perfected on March 8, 1867 (thus confirming the Hastings-Currey-Carpentier transaction of the previous month), general settlement had been made by persons having nothing but possessory rights. The three owners of the Juarez grant had a survey made of the different claims and agreed to sell so as to average \$2.50 per acre for the entire tract. Thus, for the second time, Ukiah Valley was lost to the Yokayo Indians.

The divestiture, however, was not confined to the valley itself but extended into the cattle ranges and smaller valleys of the entire watershed. On May 20, 1862, President Lincoln signed the first Homestead Law, on the strength of which another influx of settlers arrived, this time invading the hills, so that these lands, too, became privately owned.

When white settlement began, there were approximately 200 members in the tribe,¹⁴ but each year they became more limited in their freedom of action as their lands passed into private ownership. They secured a precarious existence by working for the settlers, supplemented by fish and game. By 1881 their number had been reduced to 135, according to the court records at Ukiah. In that year they made their headquarters on the ranch of J. H. Burke,¹⁵ about five miles south of Ukiah, but this was only by the license of the generous rancher.

It is definitely known from court records (Note 14, above) that at this time, Dick, Lewis, Bill, and Charley were the chiefs. Sufficient time had now passed to determine the effect of the coming of the whites upon the

Indians. These able men realized that their tribal lands were gone, and that unless something was done they must live only by the sufferance of others. To them the solution was to work for the white man and use their earnings to buy a portion of the lands that had been taken from them. Thus, and thus only, could they establish a home for themselves and their people which would be protected forever under the laws of the country. The chiefs sent word that on a certain specified day the members of the tribe should assemble at the Burke ranch and bring all the white man's money they possessed.

The Yokayo tribe, men, women and children, gathered at the appointed time. The chiefs explained the uncertainty of the future for the tribe—their inability to retain money, the encroachments of the whites, the loss of their homes. They said that the meeting had been called for the purpose of gathering the accumulated money of the tribal members, in order to purchase land which should be owned by the entire tribe and upon which they and their descendants might have a home forever. At the conclusion of the speeches by the chiefs, a blanket was spread on the ground and each tribal member was asked to make his contribution to the common fund. When the gold and silver coins were counted, the total approximated \$800.

The next problem for the chiefs was the selection of a site for their future home. They required access to the river for fishing and bathing; they required fertile land to produce crops for food and sale, and also high ground where their homes would be free from floods. A tract of 120 acres, running from the Russian river into the foothills to the east, was finally selected by the chiefs. However, the price was fixed by the owner at \$4,500. Not daunted, they undertook the purchase and with the \$800 already collected made the down-payment.

The Yokayo Tribe of Indians then moved upon their own lands. The knowledge and foresight and determination of the four chiefs carried them on. They tilled the soil, sold baskets, and worked for the whites, all the while contributing, as they could, to the common fund. Every dollar of the debt was finally paid, and on October 20, 1881, the deed was executed and recorded, according to white man's law, to "Dick, Lewis, Bill, Charley, all Indians, and their tribe."¹⁶

The second golden age began for the tribe. They were free of debt and owned their land. It was not the broad acreage of the Yokayo Valley and the tributary mountains and streams. Their holdings were reduced from thousands to the 120 acres specified in their deed, and yet, conformable to white man's law, it was their home and their children's forever. They had recovered, for a price, a portion of their ancestral lands.

The chiefs now undertook to farm according to the methods of the whites. Farming machinery was purchased with tribal funds, crops were planted and an abundant yield brought funds into the tribal treasury. Many

of the business transactions with the outside world were too intricate for them, and, wisely, they engaged F. C. Albertson, a kindly and competent white man, to act as their agent and handle their money. He paid their taxes, protected them in their contracts and was custodian of the tribal funds, which were paid out upon request of the chiefs. The tribal money was used not only to pay taxes and operate the farm, but for feasts and barbecues, marriage festivals, and to bury the dead. At one time the state of the exchequer warranted a dividend and \$200 was distributed amongst members of the tribe. The court records show that in 1904 there was a cash balance of \$2,669.97, with no outstanding debts.

After twenty-three years of uninterrupted harmony and prosperity, the first real difficulty arose. Chief Bill died in 1901, and Chief Charley in 1904. By this date the property had enhanced in value to several times the original purchase price of \$4,500, which led T. J. Weldon, a white man, to become interested. He had himself appointed administrator of the estates of the dead chiefs and laid claim to a half interest in the rancheria on behalf of the heirs. Had he been successful, the communal enterprise would have immediately ended. However, he had not reckoned upon the two survivors, Dick and Lewis. The four original chiefs, individually and collectively, had recognized and fulfilled their trust on behalf of the tribe. The two old chiefs, left to carry on, were determined that the white man should not again drive their people from their home, and that they were entitled to the protection of the laws of California.

The records at Ukiah, referred to above, show that in 1904 Dick and Lewis, for and on behalf of the Yokayo tribe of Indians, commenced suit in the Superior Court of Mendocino County to establish that the original deed to "Dick, Lewis, Bill, Charley, all Indians, and their tribe," created a trust for the benefit of the members of the Yokayo tribe. The surviving chiefs explained to the white man's court how their departed co-chiefs had, during their lives, recognized and respected the obligations of their trust; and they stated that they, the survivors, still recognized such trust. They also stated to the court that they were impelled to bring the action because of the uncertainty of their lives and the rapid destruction of their tribe by death and disease; and because they feared that within a short time—so large had been the death rate among the members of the tribe—there would remain no members who knew the facts establishing the original trust. Dick and Lewis finally stated that, since they were becoming old, it was necessary for the protection of the tribe that the tenure and ownership of the land be fixed and established by indisputable records and decrees. They added that there remained only seventy-four members of the tribe.

The white man's judge, Hon. J. Q. White, decided the case for Dick and Lewis. However, the battle was not over. It raged on until 1908, when the Supreme Court of California decided for the old chiefs, holding that the

original deed to the Indians passed a good title for the benefit of the tribe, "and that such title will descend in perpetuity."¹⁷ It was the opinion of the court that the land was held in trust and that the chiefs were trustees. Justice F. W. Henshaw, in disposing of the attack upon the title, said:

But, finally, it may be said, that it would be a reproach to our jurisprudence if, under all the circumstances shown, our laws should compel that this tribe be driven from the land which it had purchased, and forced again to become wanderers on the earth. But such reproach, we take it, does not attach. At common law, it is true, a deed of conveyance to an unincorporated voluntary association was bad for lack of a capable grantee, and cases will be found which hold that where the grantee could not take directly, he or it cannot take through the medium of a trustee. But from this grew an abuse which equity was prompt to remedy. So that it is now recognized that a valid grant may be made to trustees for such an unincorporated voluntary association, and that such title will descend in perpetuity. And certainly, if ever there was a case where equity would seek to sustain such a grant, it is the case here presented.

The Yokayo ranchería is still being administered as communal property. Early in August, 1935, a tribal meeting was held at which five chiefs were selected to take the places of chiefs Dick, Charley, Bill and Lewis, all deceased. On August 16, 1935, a proceeding was filed in the superior court of Mendocino County to confirm the selections, and an appropriate order was made by the court on November 8, 1935, except that, conformable to white man's law, the chiefs were designated as trustees.¹⁸

Dick, Lewis, Bill and Charley have all gone to the happy hunting ground. The Ukiah Valley, where they and their ancestors roamed, hunted and fished, doing much feasting and a little fighting, now belongs to the white man. Civilization has come to it, with its towns and villages, its railroad and highways, its churches, schools, shops, and its hospital for the insane. However, one small portion of this valley, 120 acres, has descended to the members of the Yokayo Indians, and, by decree of the white man's court, will descend in perpetuity. The four old chiefs lie buried on the hill in the tribal cemetery, overlooking the fertile acres they acquired for their people. There the descendants of the Yokayo tribe now reside, in the same communal society that was established through the wisdom of their chiefs, and at peace with their neighbors.¹⁹

NOTES

1. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D. C., 1925), 232-33; S. A. Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," *Univ. Calif. Pubs. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, VI (1908), 1-332; E. W. Gifford and A. L. Kroeber, "Cultural Element Distributions: IV, Pomo," *ibid.*, XXXVII (1937), 121, give specific boundaries for Yokaia territory.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), IV, 674.

3. Sheriff's certificate of sale, Edward L. Green, sheriff of Sonoma Co., to S. C. Hastings, March 26, 1859, and recorded Oct. 12, 1892, in *Certificates of Sale*, Book 3, p. 304, Mendocino Co. records.

4. Deed, Cayetano Juarez to John Currey, recorded Nov. 24, 1866, in *Deeds*, Book 2, p. 194, Mendocino Co. records.

5. Sheriff's deed, Edward L. Green, sheriff of Sonoma Co., to S. C. Hastings, recorded Oct. 3, 1859, in *Deeds*, Book 1, p. 29, Mendocino Co. records.

6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 735; VI, 509.

7. *History of Mendocino County*, Lyman L. Palmer, historian (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), p. 232; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 509.

8. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36, gives an account of a feud, adjusted by the disputants, over hunting and fishing rights. See also Gifford and Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

9. Patent, U. S. to Cayetano Juarez, recorded Oct. 21, 1867, in *Patents*, Book 1, pp. 1-23 incl., Mendocino Co. records.

10. Deed, C. Juarez to M. G. Vallejo, dated Aug. 16, 1852, recorded in *Deeds*, Book H, p. 224, Sonoma Co. records.

11. Deed, M. G. Vallejo and Mortimer Ryan to John Currey, S. Clinton Hastings, and Horace W. Carpentier, recorded May 8, 1867, in *Deeds*, Book 2, p. 353, Mendocino Co. records.

12. *History of Mendocino Co.*, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

13. For a discussion of Sonoma-Mendocino county boundaries, see *idem*, pp. 272 ff; 476. See also Owen C. Coy, *California County Boundaries* (Berkeley, 1923), pp. 166-69.

14. No. 6027, in the records of the Mendocino Co. clerk, containing a statement of the history of the ranchería, has been drawn upon for many of the facts given in the present paper. No. 6027 was filed Dec. 20, 1904, and is entitled, "Dick Ruddick and Captain Lewis (Indians), for and on behalf of the Yokayo Tribe of Indians, Plaintiffs, vs. F. C. Albertson, T. J. Weldon, as Administrator of the Estate of Charley (Indian) Deceased, T. J. Weldon, as Administrator of the Estate of Bill (Indian) Deceased, Minnehaha, Hiawatha, Ollagoola, Wanahana, Pocahontas, Defendants." The complaint in this action was verified by the two surviving chiefs, Dick and Lewis.

15. James H. Burke was one of the sons of Alexander Burke, who came to California in 1853, and in 1857 took up 1100 acres of land south of Ukiah. *History of Mendocino Co.*, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

16. A deed executed by Charles H. Yates, as grantor, to Lewis, Dick, Charles and Bill, all Indians, and their tribe, of Ukiah Valley, Mendocino Co., California, dated Oct. 20, 1881, and recorded Oct. 20, 1881, in *Deeds*, Book 26, p. 62, Mendocino Co. records.

17. The decision of the Supreme Court of California on appeal, in the case brought by chiefs Dick and Lewis, was dated Dec. 15, 1908, and is set forth in *California Reports*, vol. 154, p. 640.

18. A proceeding brought in the Superior Court of Mendocino Co. on Aug. 16, 1935, No. 12567, asking for the appointment of trustees of the tribe to take the place of chiefs Dick, Charles, Bill and Lewis, all deceased. This proceeding culminated in the appointment of Manuel Variael, James Moranda, Taylor Mitchell, Frank Luff, and Steven Knight, as trustees of the Yokayo tribe. This order was made by the Superior Court of Mendocino Co. on Nov. 8, 1935.

19. In addition to the cited authorities, I had the benefit of consultation with Manuel Veriael, the oldest living member of the tribe and one of the present acting trustees or chiefs (he does not know his age, but it is generally recognized that he is not under 80 years); and I consulted with Steven Knight, who is well educated and is also one of the present trustees. He is perhaps 70 years old. Another that I knew was F. C. Albertson, now deceased, a prominent citizen of Ukiah, at one time county recorder, and for many years vice-president of the old First National Bank of Ukiah. He was the person selected by the original chiefs to be business manager of the property. Mr. Albertson's statements confirm in detail the documentary evidence.

Documentary

The two notes of hand transcribed below, from originals among the Adolphus C. Whitcomb Papers in the collection of the Society, are of interest as throwing light on the whereabouts and pecuniary circumstances of the promisor at the times stated.

San Francisco Oct^r 4th 1856

\$1623#

Four months after date for value received I promise to pay A. C. Whitcomb or order Sixteen hundred & twenty three dollars with interest at & after the rate of three per centum per month till paid.

[SIGNED] Hiram Grimes [rubric]

Boston July 16, 1867

On demand, I promise to pay to the order of A. C. Whitcomb—One Hundred Dollars—with interest, value received

\$100.00

[SIGNED] H. Grimes [rubric]

The Early Years of William Francis Herrick

By AMY R. RUSSELL

IN August 1841, when only fourteen, William Herrick, later San Francisco artist and newspaper owner, ran away to Nantucket, boarded the whaler *David Paddock*, and was gone five years. At first his disappearance with an older boy named Thornton was not taken seriously by his parents, Israel and Martha Trow Herrick of Nashua, New Hampshire. The lads would turn up shortly, but to make sure of this his father instituted a search. Thornton was found on a vessel in Boston harbor; William eluded them by slipping away to Nantucket where the whalers outfitted.

No one knows why he went; fifty years afterward he told a nephew that it was purely from a craving for adventure. As the weeks and then the months passed, his parents put the affair into the hands of a lawyer, to discover at least the name of the vessel. The law forbidding a minor from going to sea without his parents' consent was on the statute books but was often disregarded, for it was difficult to sign on a full crew for whaling voyages. They were long and the pay was only the promise of a share or "lay," usually exaggerated, in the oil and whalebone secured. It was two years before the Herricks learned the name of William's vessel, and the only address was "South Pacific Ocean." Communications so addressed might reach him, if at all, in from six months to another two years. In the words of his brother John, William's case would have to be left to Providence—for the time being, at least.¹

The *David Paddock* (352 tons)² of Nantucket sailed from Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard October 7, 1841, on her maiden voyage. Though built at Rochester, Massachusetts, she belonged at Nantucket where her captain, John Hussey, Jr., and her owner, Daniel Jones, both lived. The name of the vessel appears to have been as indigenous as were her officers, it being said that in 1690 a certain Ichabod Paddock of Cape Cod had been invited by the natives of Nantucket Island to teach them the best method of killing whales.³ Official record of the voyage is missing, for the *Paddock* with its log was lost at sea on a second voyage a few years later, but from three separate sources the cruise can be reconstructed. In April 1857, William Herrick, then a professional engraver in San Francisco, made and signed the illustrations for an anonymous article in *Hutching's California Magazine*, entitled "Pacific Whale Fishery." As the details of a part of it, "A Cruise among the Whales," nearly coincide with what is known of William's voyage, he may have been the author. Two variations occur: the name of the vessel in the magazine account is *Atalanta*, and the voyage is said to have

been profitable; in contrast, the *Paddock's* was unprofitable. But the time of sailing, the trip from Boston, the route covered and the length of the voyage are identical. Even the fact that the writer was younger than the rest of the crew is the same.

The *Hutching's* article, which gives a clear description of whale catching, ends with a paean on the trade winds: "These winds," it says, "are the delight of navigators on the west coast of South America; they blow for eleven out of the twelve months, from the south and southeast, and for nearly eighteen months that we were on the coast of Peru, and round the Galapagos Islands, we never reefed our top sails but once. . . ." Some forty-eight years later the account of whaling "round the Galapagos Islands" was actually taken up by Herrick in a letter that he wrote on October 8, 1904, near the end of his life, to Prof. Alexander Agassiz of the University of California. It is a sample of his fascination in the things of the sea, but it shows equally well what observing immigrants to California, coming via the Horn in the early days, had the privilege of seeing.

. . . In relation to some of my personal experiences among the Galapagos Islands and Cocos Island as far back as 1843 [probably on ship *Russell*,⁴ to which he changed; not the *Paddock*], a few years after Professor Darwin's visit: I was at that time a youth on an American whaler, and we remained among the Galapagos Islands several months and saw much to interest us, but were not very successful in our cruise.

I was very much interested in the seals, iguanas, birds and tortoises, about a hundred of which we obtained for fresh meat, and a very delicious pot-pie they made. We also obtained about fifty green-turtle from a sand beach on Albemarle, east of the south end of the Island of Narborough, a very hot place. We found excellent fish at Redondo Rock, a variety of rock-cod, very palatable, and so ravenous that we caught them in our woolen socks while "sousing" them up and down in the water alongside the boat, the teeth of the fish catching in the woolen meshes of the socks. The first time I caught a fish this way my companion said to me, "You won't be able to do that again," to which I replied, "I'll wager I will," and promptly caught another!

We also had a pleasant visit at Cocos Island where we went for wood and water which we found readily. Here we obtained cocoanuts from a precipitous beach on the starboard hand, but it was very difficult and dangerous to land on account of the heavy surf. Wild hogs were in evidence on the hillsides. Poor eating!

The fish interested me most. They seemed in great variety around the island, particularly in a large, shallow area of rocky bay on the starboard hand. Among them were eels and perch, the latter about six or eight inches long and almost as wide, with broad vertical stripes of yellow and purple, also with a long "whip-lash" at the dorsal fin. Another peculiar fish, which we called a bill-fish, was about eighteen inches long, round in body, with an eye nearly the width of the head. The bill was about half the length of the body. Another was a gregarious fish, about the size of a mackerel, which usually swam in shoals near the surface. The peculiarity of its dorsal fin was that the fish had a cavity in its back longitudinally, so that it could erect or depress the fin into the cavity. We caught several and named them "trigger fish." Normally the dorsal fin was erect and rigid, but by touching the afterbone it acted like a trigger and could be pressed down into the cavity. This fish also made a queer little grunt like a young pig.

We found a point at Tumbes on the Peruvian coast south of the equator, where oysters of excellent quality grow on the roots of the Mangrove trees along the shore.

The explanation lies in the fact that the rise and fall of the tide is very great along this section of the coast, and that the oysters fasten themselves to the roots of the trees at high tide and are exposed at low water.

Tumbez is on the southern side of the Gulf of Guayaquil, and the Guayaquil river empties into the northern part of the gulf. There the whalers used to sail their ships up into the fresh water to kill the barnacles attached to the ship's bottom. If some of the dead barnacles were scraped off on a sand bar on the return trip, so much the better. Bananas, plantains, oranges, fowl and meat can be had at Tumbez, also at Atacames, north. The whalers bartered calicoes and similar goods for supplies at Tumbez and Atacames; no duties. . . .

A typed transcript of a conversation, concerning this part of the voyage, between Herrick and a grandson, Herbert W. Ross, communicated to the writer, gives further details:

At Paita in Peru, we purchased the finest hats made on the South American coast; these hats were made at Piura, inland, but shipped out through this port. We whalers used to treat them with sundry coats of linseed oil and color, ending with a final coat of varnish. The otherwise comfortable straw became stiff as a board, but made a thoroughly water-proof covering for the head.

Off the coast of Peru an interesting phenomenon is observable in the ocean, consisting of patches of purple colored water, each patch perhaps an acre or so in extent. This color is due to the presence of myriads of a minute form of animal life. These little creatures travel in schools near the surface of the water, leaving intervening spaces of uncolored water, which gives the sea a mottled appearance as viewed from the masthead of a vessel.

It was along this coast, a few miles north of Paita near the port of Talara, I first saw an ocean-going raft under sail. These rafts, made and used by the natives, are of extremely light Balsa wood, and are sometimes used for navigating the open ocean. Rather a perilous undertaking!

The whalers used to sing chanteys such as "Whiskey Johnny," and

Nancy Narvor married a barber

Heave her and ho . . .

Heave her and ho . . .

"The Girl I Left Behind Me" was a great favorite.

Sometime during these years at sea, William acquired a souvenir—an American eagle, wings outstretched, tattooed in blue and red on his chest.

The matter of damages, payable to the parents by the owners of the *Paddock* for having hired a minor, came up for discussion during his absence, as may be seen from a bundle of letters in William's letter bag. This bag, made aboard the U. S. frigate *Constitution*, was meticulously stitched by the boy who had learned to mend sail. It is of white cotton drill, the seams piped in navy blue; and on one side, from a die evidently made by himself, is stamped his name, "W. F. Herrick," encircling an anchor. A letter dated August 13, 1843, from his brother Moses in Boston, to another brother, Henry, in New York City, says: ". . . Tell Father to rest easy about William's wages, for the damages are accumulating and will be until he gets home, when will be the proper time to take the matter up. . . ."

A year later (1844) came a letter from William saying that he had "left"

the whaling in Peru to join the U. S. Navy, in the hope of getting home. William himself uses the word *left*, but although he would never talk about it, it was always understood that, like Herman Melville, he had deserted the whalers because of ill treatment.⁵ He had received some of the letters forwarded circuitously from home, and finding that he would be forgiven had at last indulged his desire to return to "the States." Israel Herrick was determined not only to bring his son home but to punish those who had enticed him to sea. The Nashua lawyer was dismissed and the affair was turned over to one in Boston, with Moses Herrick in charge.

On November 11, 1844, William wrote to his parents:

I now write to you from on board the U. S. Schooner Shark in the South Pacific Station. We are bound for Panama. If Ephy [younger brother, Ephraim] will look in his atlas he will see it is near the Isthmus of Darien. We are going down for dispatches for the squadron and for the new Commodore, if he is there, Commodore Dallas being dead. I suppose you would like to know where I have been wandering to since I last wrote. I believe the last I wrote was from the ship Russell, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. After a ten months' cruise in her, I left her at Paita in Peru and lived three weeks there.

One day some young men, Americans, started a cruise for Piura, a city about forty miles from Paita. So having prepared Burros (i. e. Jackasses), we set out. [They reached Piura the next day at noon.]

We had a letter of introduction to a relative of the man with whom I boarded in Paita; we soon found out where he lived and presented our letter and were warmly welcomed to his house and home. Understanding from him that a paisano (countryman) of ours lived in town, we asked his whereabouts and our host sent a little Spanish boy to show us. We were warmly welcomed by the American, too, and pressed to stay to dinner; of course, we accepted and ate a good meal. He told us there was an American circus in town and offered to show us where it was. We were naturally glad to see our countrymen; there were six of them. One of their number was sick, and they asked me to stay and watch the poor boy. I could not refuse as I had no engagement at Paita, or elsewhere. I stayed with them a week when the boy died. I then agreed to travel with them for awhile.⁶

We traveled for six weeks and went about three hundred miles, to the southward, when I left them—and went to Callao, where I shipped in the service of the United States for three years; a long time to look ahead but a short time to pass over. . . . Write often, all of you, and direct your letters to "United States Schooner Shark, Pacific Station by way of Panama," as they will reach me quickest that way.

From your affectionate son,

William Herrick.

By 1844, dispatches to and from the U. S. Pacific Squadron were being sent across the isthmus, and William was no longer so out of touch with home, for the letter quoted above reached his parents in less than two months. On April 2, 1845, his mother wrote him thanking him "a thousand times for your kind letters," and saying that, in all, nine had been received since he left home. "Do not," she urged him, "cast any reflection on yourself for leaving home. It was not you, but the work of some villain who enticed you away. I hope it will prove for your benefit in some way, although it's dearly bought. . . . If you can honorably do so, let nothing deter you from

coming home. If you have not a farthing, think nothing of that; if you can only come home, it is all I ask. . . .”

A letter to his brother John, dated Callao September 10, 1845, was delivered by James S. Pierpont, who had been purser's clerk on the *Shark*. When Pierpont left the ship, William was ordered to take his place. This promotion rejoiced Moses (Moses to Henry, Jan. 14, 1846), who looked to it to give William “more ambition than with the common sailors before the mast. . . . I think he will really make a smart man if he can only have the right training. . . . The chief subject of conversation now,” Moses adds, “is Mexico. I hope we shall not have war, for it will be the death knell of business.” Moses was a dealer in coal.

The solution of the family's concern for William is to be found in an old letter book, still preserved in the U. S. Navy Department, Washington, D. C.:

Navy Department, Oct. 11, 1845. To Israel E. Herrick, Manchester, N. H. Sir: I have received your letter of the 8th inst. and shall by the earliest opportunity transmit an order to Commodore Sloat to transfer your son to the first public vessel returning to the United States. I am, respectfully yours, I. N. Mason, Acting Secy. of the Navy.

William knew nothing of this until the following year.

On December 16, 1845, he wrote from the *Shark*, Callao Bay, to his brother Henry, “Wood Engraver, New York City.” The U. S. storeship *Erie* had arrived, 150 days from New York, but had brought him no letter.

. . . do not neglect any opportunity you have, for you cannot imagine what a treasure a letter is to me, so far from my friends, to break the dull monotony of a life on a man of war.

’Tis true, we have as fine a vessel under us as ever floated, and what is generally termed by sailors a good captain—that is, he is good to his ship's company and seldom flogs them unless they are too bad. You ought to see her bowling along with everything set to the breeze; you ought to be on her deck and see her running around like a thing of life among the shipping of the harbour. You would feel your heart swell as I have; everyone gazing at her as she passed them like a dolphin after its prey, our little captain watching every motion of her, and rubbing his hands with delight. But news from home is heartening to one so far away.

The Troy brought out your package of April 16th, '45, which I received on the third of November last. As she is bound home again in a week or two, and as I improve every opportunity to write, I shall send this by her. I shall send with it a small piece of tap-a, a species of cloth the Kanakas use for clothing. You can give a small piece to Cousin John for a curiosity. I wish you would send me some New York and Boston papers if you can get any, some from Nashua, too, would be most acceptable.

We expect the frigate *Macedonian* and a sloop-of-war *Cyane* here to receive the squadron. . . .

Still legible in the *Rough Log Book* of the U. S. ship *Warren*, are the following entries:⁸

“Mazatlan, April 1st, 1846. Rec'd from the Schooner *Shark*, Wm. Herrick O. S. [ordinary seaman].

. . .

"April 21st, 1846. Transferred to the Frigate Constitution, William Herrick, O. S."

And in the *Log Book* of the *Constitution*, Capt. John Percival:

"Mazatlan Roads, April 21st, 1846. Received from the U. S. Warren, William Herrick, O. S."

The orders for the return voyage were reported as follows (Commodore Sloat to George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy):⁹

Flagship Savannah, Mazatlan, April 30th, 1846.

Sir: Captain Percival having reported the *Constitution* in bad condition and the crew having suffered very much in the Indian Ocean and China Seas—as reported by the surgeon—and believing that the situation of our affairs with Mexico does not require so large a force on this coast, and to save expense, I thought it advisable to release her from my control that she may reach the United States before the winter sets in. She sailed on the 22nd inst. for Valparaiso and Boston.

War with Mexico was declared three weeks after the *Constitution* sailed for home from Mazatlan, but those aboard did not learn of the state of national affairs until they had rounded the Horn and reached Rio months later.

On May 17, 1846, seventeen-year-old Ephraim, the youngest of the Herrick brothers and the only one still living at home to help Israel Herrick on the new farm in Manchester, spread the long-awaited news that William's face was turned toward home.

Manchester, N. H.

Dear Brother Henry: We had a letter from William last week, dated at Mazatlan, March 19. We got it in less than two months. His first words were "I can hardly write for joy, I am coming home!" So, you see he got his discharge and is most likely on his way home now. It does not hardly seem so, but such is the reality. He says he will write as soon as he arrives in port. The Captain of the *Shark* was to transfer him to one of the homeward bound vessels. They are the *Savannah*, the *Constitution*, the *Levant*, and the *Warren*. On one of these, we may expect him. . . .

During this second voyage around the Horn, William, because of his excellent record as purser's clerk aboard the *Shark*, received the same position on the *Constitution*. He wrote in a clear bold hand, and his education was superior to that of the majority of seamen.

A grimly realistic account of flogging during the voyage was given by William in an article contributed to the Manchester [New Hampshire] *American* on January 29, 1847. He described how the "fearful cry of 'All hands witness punishment'" sent "a chill to the very heart's core." One such occasion marked the Fourth of July, ". . . the dead of a Cape Horn winter, in a snow storm." As to knowledge of passing events during the trip, William says in a "Statement" to H. H. Bancroft:¹⁰

At Rio, we heard for the first time the news of the declaration of war with Mexico and that several battles on her soil had been fought. The "*Constitution*" was detained here by the U. S. Minister Henry A. Wise, as a convoy for the numerous American

vessels engaged in the coffee trade bound home. They were afraid of the Mexican privateers off the West India Islands.

The passage was said to have been excellent and ended propitiously; in the words of the log of the *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides"):

Boston Harbor, Sept. 28, 1846, at 6-30 clewed up and came to off May's Wharf, Boston. Sent a number of men ashore whose term of service has expired. At Meridian the Citizen hoisted the American Ensign ashore, fired a salute of 28 guns, and cheered the ship. . . .

William received his discharge in Boston on October 8, 1846, five years and one day after sailing from Nantucket on the *David Paddock*. In his old age he applied for a pension as a veteran of the Mexican War, but as he had never seen active service—that is, actual combat—this was denied him.¹¹

So ended William's five long years at sea. He was returned to his family in Manchester, and once more resumed his schooling. The year before, the new naval academy at Annapolis had opened its doors, and he hoped that he might be allowed to attend,¹² but his father was preparing to bring suit against the owners of the *David Paddock* and needed his son at court as well as on the farm.¹³ In some way his education was resumed, for schoolbooks of this period in Manchester are still owned by William's daughter.

Three months after his return, he wrote to his brother Henry in New York concerning the progress of the lawsuit:

Manchester, N. H., Jan. 17th, 1847.

Dear Bro. H.: . . . Father went to Boston on Thursday morning and came back as far as Nashua the same evening. There is nothing particularly new as regards the David Paddock affair. I believe Plimpton [lawyer, San Francisco] intends to bring the case into court next month.

While Father was in Boston, he accidentally came across a similar case, of a young man by the name of Bishop, who in circumstances like my own, also left his vessel before the voyage was completed. His Father sued the owners for damages for the whole time he was gone. The case had been in court for eleven years, the owners appealing from one court to a higher. At last the Father died and the son withdrew the suit. One thing however, they began wrong, first carrying it into a petty court where it gave the owners a chance to appeal.

Father told Moses about it—who will tell Plimpton. They will also question Bishop as regards his case, and if Plimpton thinks he can recover for the whole time, after enquiring the particulars of the Bishop case, he will enter it as such. This is all the news as regards this affair. The owners of the David Paddock don't appear to want to engage in a law suit.

I am very much obliged for the drawing and have copied it to send to you. I can do better, as you say, but this is my first attempt at it. It does not suit me at all, but as I have had no opportunity to do another, I shall send this one.¹⁴

My school will be out in about two weeks more, and I want to improve my last chance, so I can't pay as much attention to drawing as I wish. I drew a small heading for the American a day or two ago. It was a cotton bale and a sheaf of wheat in the foreground, with a locomotive, train and factory in the background, and Manchester American in a circle over it. I have not seen the editor since I left it in his office. I don't know how he will like it, but I shall go up in a few days to see. I don't know but what this will be my maiden attempt at engraving.

I suppose Father will paint the house inside next month, so we can move into it by the middle of March. I attend Singing School at Harmony Hall and am going to a Temperance lecture tonight; Mr. Sinclair is the lecturer. . . .

Nothing ever came of William's "maiden attempt at engraving," which he had been enterprising enough to try to sell. But the editor must have been interested in the young man, for a few days after William had written the above to Henry, saying that he would "go up" to the *American's* office, there appeared in that paper the short sketch about flogging previously mentioned. William's newspaper career, or at least his interest in writing, drawing or engraving, and printing had fairly begun. Though the Manchester *American* heading is not in existence, one small drawing of his during this period has survived; a very crude, but jaunty, sketch of the "U. S. Schooner Shark entering Valparaiso harbor," with the American flag flying at her stern. It is to be suspected that William found school boring after his adventures at sea, for the drawing was made on the fly leaf of a school-book the spring after his return.

But, more than by school, William was bored by farming. In the March following his return from sea, his family moved to the farm which Moses had encouraged his father to buy. The house, still standing after a hundred years, is the typical clapboarded type, painted white, with a dormered second story, green shutters, and a long ell extending into a shed at the rear.¹⁵ It was a good home, where the elder Herricks would live the rest of their lives; but William longed for independence once more.

In May, the *Paddock* lawsuit was settled out of court, and Israel Herrick paid off his sister's husband, Timothy Colby of Hopkinton, who had held the mortgage on the farm. It was natural in those days that William's wages for his time at sea should go to his father; a minor's time was not his own, and in several letters between the Herrick brothers, they speak of sending so much of their week's wages to their father. William wrote Henry that \$500 had been paid by the *Paddock's* owners, and added, "I, for one, am heartily glad." In later years he often spoke of being gratified that his running away had given comfort to his parents at last.

On May 23, 1847, William wrote to Henry, then in the employ of the American Bank Note Company of New York, mentioning among other matters a sample of his work he had sent his engraver-brother:

. . . I see many defects in the cutting, etc., but you must remember it was the first India ink drawing I ever cut. Still, I might have done better, much better. I did it in a hurry when I might have been at work on the farm, and therefore did not take as much pains as I should, had I been differently situated. I want to pay the most of my attention to engraving this summer so I can be able to go on my own footing and pay my own way by fall.

I shall be very glad if you can procure me some good work to do (that is, some good enough for me now) so I can improve as fast as possible. As it is, I work so hard all day on the farm that when evening comes I could not draw if I was so inclined, and there-

fore, have done nothing at it since we left No. 25, except one small copy of a swan from one you sent me in a letter. . . .

His enthusiasm for engraving continued, though for the next few years the records are rather bare; nor did his interest in the sea diminish. In his copy of *Two Years before the Mast* was a letter from the author (presumably in answer to one from William inquiring where the book, then out of print, could be found). Dana's letter, dated June 16, 1851, ends with: ". . . I do not own it, or I should be happy to send it to your retreat from the storms and wanderings of your youth. With best wishes for the success of your life on shore, I am your obedt. servant, Richard H. Dana Jr."

Among other pursuits William was trying out was the writing of poetry. In his letter bag is a note from a popular poet of the period:

Burlington, Vt., Oct. 20th, 1851. To W. F. Herrick.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of the 11th dully, and am now able to make answer that Wed. the 10th day of Dec. next will best suit my almanac, as the day on which to speak before the Bigelow Institute.

The poem you sent me has certainly much merit. I showed it to the "Hutchinson Vocalists,"¹⁶ who begged it of me, for the purpose of marrying it to music,—a kind of alliance which I am sure you will not object to.

Pray let me hear from you soon, that the date of my appointment may be fixed as early as possible. Yours very truly,

John G. Saxe.¹⁷

The Hutchinson Vocalists, born not far from Nashua, were at that time the best known family of singers in the United States. Temperance advocates and abolitionists, they were extremely popular in New England and "York State." Possibly the verses which William submitted to Saxe were those entitled "On Hearing an Aeolian Harp in a Crowded Thoroughfare," published later in San Francisco,¹⁸ for these singers had at first called themselves, "The Aeolians." At any rate, the fact that they had liked the verses enough to wish to set them to music was highly flattering to William. From this letter, too, one might surmise that he was managing the affairs of a literary society (the Bigelow Institute), but the evidence, with the "married verses," is missing.

In 1851-52, he obtained a situation in Worcester, Massachusetts, as superintendent of Allen & Thurber's Small Arms Armory, at \$1,000 a year.¹⁹ This factory turned out "pepper pot pistols," rifles, and various small arms, and the salary was considered excellent for so young a man. In a letter of reference given him by Henry V. Thurber, dated June 15, 1852, upon "retiring from your situation . . . agreeably to your request," Thurber speaks of "your character . . . as a man of talent," by which it would seem that while there William may have acted as a designer of weapons, using his knowledge of firearms obtained in the navy. His inventive skill, shown in the drawings now owned by the California Historical Society, may be the culmination

of the work begun there. Thurber adds, “. . . we have ever considered your business capacity of a high order, and this connected with your strict integrity, will render you a valuable acquisition in any business in which you may engage. . . .” (He kept Thurber’s letter all his life.)

William’s stay in Worcester had lasted only about a year, the reason for his “retiring” being that he had decided to sail on another voyage around the Horn. His plan was considered extremely ill-advised by relatives and friends, but he had given it careful thought. For nearly four years he had been hearing tales of the Forty-niners and their El Dorado. On the *Constitution* his shipmates had piqued his imagination with stories of Monterey, where they had lain in port before he joined the vessel.²⁰ But the real decision to go had been made because the health of the youngest of the Herrick sons, Ephraim, was poor and he had been advised to take a sea voyage. The sea was an old friend of both brothers. For two years Ephraim had been clerk to a cotton broker in Charleston, South Carolina, and he had also made one voyage to Rio de Janeiro.²¹

There was another inducement. The year 1852 in Boston marked the crest of the clipper era—the golden meridian of the sailing ship. It had been widely advertised that, in the fall, no less than fifteen clippers were scheduled to sail for the west coast; and the lure of this “Deep Sea Derby,” on which many were placing great stakes, was irresistible. William and Ephraim engaged passage on the *Westward Ho*, which was to sail from Boston in October on her maiden voyage.

Careful plans were laid for the trip. The little pine bureau, made by William for their cabin, is still used by the older brother’s descendants, as is their portable desk. The latter, when closed, looks like a large mahogany box, but opened it presents a slanting, baize-covered surface, with compartments for ink-bottle, pencils and paper. It was a useful traveling companion, and for many years the receipt for William’s passage money was kept in it.

On October 16, 1852, the *Westward Ho*, designed by the famous Donald McKay and carrying royal studding-sails, presented a beautiful sight as she swept past the Boston Light, bound for California. She was long and sharp, with not a straight place in her model. Her figure-head—a full-length representation of an Indian rapidly advancing in the chase, its flower-entwined pedestal, and the ship’s name on each side of the bow, were her principal ornaments. Nothing that money or skill could command to render her strong and durable had been withheld. It was confidently expected that she would make the voyage in less than 100 days, perhaps even surpassing the record of the *Flying Cloud*. Capt. Edward Nickels, estimated one of the best sailors afloat, had just previously arrived from the Far East in the *Flying Fish* and was supposed to take command of the *Ho*; but at the last moment, for some undetermined reason, he reassumed command of the *Fish*, and, as William’s brief notes of this, his third voyage around the Horn,

clearly state, his captain was William B. Graves, a man of uncertain character, as events proved.

G. W. Johnson was mate; Spear, second mate; McKennon, third mate; Annis, fourth mate or boatswain; G. A. Lans, steward; and there were two cooks and 45 men or boys before the mast. The ship, according to William's notes on the voyage, was "a fine clipper vessel of 1650 tons, very sharp and supposed to be the fastest ship afloat. . . ." Later in the voyage he sets down factually that: "The captain has been drunk in his stateroom nearly all the time since leaving port, being at times delirious from excessive use of brandy, etc."

There was in existence at one time a petition, signed by the passengers off Cape Horn, protesting the captain's condition. Unfortunately it has disappeared; but the state of affairs was alarming, and William collected the signatures, intending to mail the protest to the owners in Boston as soon as the *Westward Ho* reached port. To all on board it seemed that not only was Captain Graves' condition preventing them from winning the race on which so many had placed bets, and which, on sailing, had seemed a sure thing, but that he was endangering the clipper and their lives. After rounding the Horn, William's brief notes on the daily life of the ship end; but material now in the Marine Research Society in Salem, Massachusetts, shows that off the Cape the captain became violent with delirium tremens and was at length forcibly confined in irons in his cabin. The ship was brought through the Golden Gate by the mate, G. W. Johnson; Graves was removed from the vessel, and a few weeks later she continued on her maiden voyage around the world under Johnson as captain.

Despite the state of affairs aboard the *Ho*, nothing could prevent the thrill of the Deep Sea Derby's finish as the clippers began to reach San Francisco harbor, the *Westward Ho* first, on the morning of February 1, 1853, 103 days out (107 days by log from Boston). Had she not been delayed four days off the Heads by fog, she might at least have beaten the hoped-for hundred days. Within sailing distance and pressing her hard, was Captain Nickels in the *Flying Fish*. From his quarter-deck on the *Fish*, Nickels saw the *Westward Ho's* stunsails crumpling as Johnson's crew rolled up her canvas for the anchorage, but the *Fish* won the race, nevertheless, on elapsed time. Though the *Ho* had come in ahead of him, Nickels had, with a voyage of 92 days 4 hours from New York, nearly equaled the all-time record of the *Flying Cloud* in 1851 of 89 days from the same port. Two days later, the *John Gilpin* reached San Francisco, 93 days 20 hours from New York.²²

William Herrick went ashore the morning of February 1, 1853, to a new life. Though Ephraim's cough seemed better, the brothers decided that it would be best for him to continue on the *Ho* to China and perhaps around the world. From the day of sailing from Boston, William had hoped to stay

in San Francisco; and with Ephraim's assurance that he would soon be entirely well, he felt that he might do so. Their parting proved to be final, for Ephraim Swan Trow Herrick died suddenly at sea on February 18, 1853, and was given burial in the Pacific.²³ News of his death was several months getting back to William in San Francisco, and even longer in reaching his family on the east coast, as a letter dated June 8, 1853, from Henry Herrick to Moses shows:

. . . The enclosed letter, from William at San Francisco, I send back at your request, together with one received by last steamer with some engravings. William seems to be doing very well in the engraving, and I hope he can keep at it permanently as long as he is doing as well as at present. He only needs to follow one thing well out, to do a good business in whatever he undertakes. Now that this enterprise is under way, he will find that it is easier to draw a coach, once it is under momentum, than to start one.

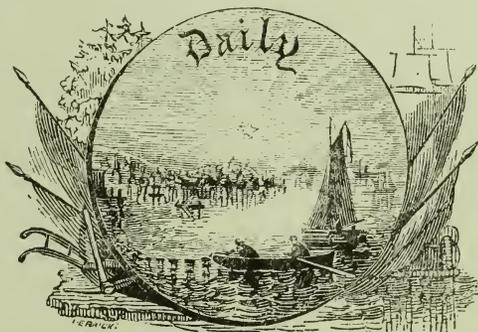
I suppose that we may expect to get news from Ephraim in Honolulu in five or six weeks, and I trust it will be good. I see nothing in the paper from the ship. . . .

In San Francisco Herrick took the position of bookkeeper at Marvin & Hitchcock's, booksellers, as being a place where he might be in touch with the literary and printing world of the new city.²⁴ His spare time he devoted to commercial engraving, making himself useful in this respect by designing a letter head for the firm's business stationery. Recently one of the bills, made out in his flowing hand, came to light.²⁵ The small engraving at the top shows the bookstore to have been, in the language of the times, "a very handsome establishment indeed," and the bill itself proves that here the secretary of the new state of California was pleased to buy "manila wrapping, official envelopes, and letter paper." Sheet music (with a square piano to try it on), school books, law books, "new books just received," and even Currier and Ives framed prints were all kept at Marvin & Hitchcock's. At Christmas time of that year (1853), Herrick purchased from the firm three small volumes of Cowper's poems and presented them to "Miss Lucy Kendall from her affectionate friend, W. F. H."²⁶ Two years later (on January 1, 1856), they were married in San Francisco.

William Herrick's early years at sea, described above, nourished the talent which, in the years of his maturity passed ashore, can be traced in his paintings of vessels and other marine scenes. These are the works by which he is remembered. His writings as a newspaper man of the 1850's in San Francisco are harder to identify. He might sign an engraving, but as reporter and editor it was customary to remain anonymous. At different times, Herrick was bookkeeper, business manager and city editor of the *Alta California*, even buying the paper, while bookkeeper, at a sheriff's sale on September 28, 1855, for \$11,000, and holding it some ten days or so until October 8 when it was purchased by George K. Fitch and Loring Pickering.²⁷ In the collection of the author is a statement in Herrick's handwriting of the receipts and disbursements of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* for the first three weeks of its existence during October 1855. Three partners put up

\$1,000 for James King of William. By putting up \$337.57, or \$4.34 more than the other two—Thomas Sim King and C. O. Gerberding—Herrick became briefly “controlling owner.” Some months before James King’s death in May 1856, Herrick sold his interest in the *Bulletin* to Gerberding and rejoined the staff of the *Alta*.²⁸

Herrick’s career as commercial engraver and newspaper man in San Francisco lasted only through the 1850’s. On July 23, 1857, the Savings and Loan Society was incorporated, with E. W. Burr as president, John Archbald, vice-president, and W. F. Herrick, secretary.²⁹ (The minutes of the society’s meetings in his handwriting are preserved in the state library at Sacramento.) This did not mean that he immediately forsook his art; the San Francisco *Directory* for 1859 lists him both as “wood engraver and secretary Savings and Loan Society.” In that year appeared the *San Francisco Almanac* with W. F. Herrick and Octavian Hoogs publishers, and illustrated with engravings by the former.³⁰ This was his last venture in publishing, though from time to time his work appeared in print. Thereafter his daily occupation was in the commercial world of accounting, life insurance, and real estate.³¹ Nevertheless, his fundamental interest in design continued.³² Artists were his friends, and his water colors and oils were exhibited in early collections.



HERRICK'S DESIGN FOR THE HEADING OF THE
SAN FRANCISCO *Evening Bulletin*

NOTES

1. John Herrick's letter, the earliest Herrick letter extant, is dated August 29, 1841. William's departure was still not taken seriously, for the letter was concerned mostly with a description of the "Grand Musical Convention" in Boston, in which John had taken part, Lowell Mason conducting. Unless otherwise stated, all the letters quoted are in the possession of the present author, William Herrick's granddaughter.

2. Information on the *David Paddock* kindly furnished by Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Mass., from Alexander Starbuck's *History of the American Whale Fishery . . . to the Year 1876* (Waltham, Mass., 1878). The *David Paddock* returned from her maiden voyage on October 16, 1845, with 388 barrels of sperm oil and 17 of whale oil—an unsuccessful venture. On her second voyage out during the following year she was lost.

3. References to early whaling from Nantucket were found in J. Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise . . . to Which Is Appended a Brief History of the Whale Fishery* (New York, 1846).

4. The ship *Russell* belonged at Dartmouth, Mass., Captain Ray commanding, owner Prince Sears. The *Russell* sailed for the Pacific on November 27, 1841. No record of return date. (Starbuck's *History*, as above.)

5. Herman Melville also went to sea in 1841, on the voyage that inspired *Omoo*, *Typee*, and *Moby Dick*. Melville was twenty-two at the time, eight years older than William.

6. *California's Pioneer Circus*, Joseph Andrew Rowe, edited by Albert Dressler (San Francisco, 1926) describes an American circus in early days on the Pacific and in South America. It was such a one, if not *the* one, that William joined. Among his duties while with the circus was taking the money at the gate.

7. Herrick always kept this letter from his mother. Others, written by him to his brothers, were returned to his daughters after his death. Additional letters were sent the author by Mrs. Henry Herrick of Lawrence, Mass. Mrs. Herrick, who remembered her husband's uncle, kindly furnished many bits of information, together with photographs from daguerreotypes of William's parents. She also said that her husband's brother had run away to sea a quarter of a century after his Uncle William, but had been caught in time in Portsmouth, N. H., harbor.

8. The logs of the *Warren* and the frigate *Constitution* are in the records of the Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

9. Records, U. S. Navy Department.

10. W. F. Herrick's "Statement" (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

11. Information to author from the late Archbold C. Ross, one of Herrick's grandsons.

12. Information to author from the late Herbert W. Ross, another grandson.

13. Mr. Charles Herrick of Boston, a son of Moses Herrick, remembered his uncle entertaining himself and his brother with tales of the sea. He gave invaluable information and remembered the facts and outcome of the lawsuit forgotten by everyone else.

14. The engraving mentioned here, and the article "Aboard a Man-o-War" for the *Manchester American*, marked the beginning of William's career as artist and newspaper man.

15. The author is indebted to various members of the staff of the Manchester, N. H., City Library (Carpenter Memorial Library), who took photographs of the house and found the article from the *American* in their files; also supplied much helpful information in other ways.

16. Two books have recently appeared that give data on the Hutchinson Vocalists. One is Philip D. Jordan's *Singin' Yankees* (Minneapolis, 1946); and the other is Carol Brink's *Harps in the Wind; the Story of the Singing Hutchinsons* (New York, 1947).

17. For reference to Saxe, see Louis Untermeyer's *American Poetry from the Beginning to Whitman* (New York, 1931), p. 486.

18. The opening lines of W. F. Herrick's poem, "On Hearing an Aeolian Harp in a Crowded Thoroughfare," are given below. They are reproduced from the *Herrick Genealogical Register*, *op. cit.*, p. 411, where it is said that he was once city editor of the *Alta California*, in which the poem had appeared (date not given).

Sweet plaintive strains, just heard above the busy throng
 That crowd the street, and yet are scarcely born
 Before thy feeble breath is spent and gone—
 Tell me from whence art thou
 With wooing note and gentle guise
 That takes our 'raptured senses by surprise?
 Tell me sweet spirit of the ether-sphere,
 Why touch those trembling strings, and linger here
 Amid the throng?

19. Reference to Herrick as superintendent of Allen & Thurber's Armory was found in an article on "Herrick's Fire Boat," designed for the city of Portland, Oregon, and published with two engravings by him in the *Pacific Underwriter* for October 1889. The collection of blueprints of other vessels and inventions, made by Herrick, was presented last year to the California Historical Society by his daughter, Miss Margaret Herrick, of Piedmont, California.

20. Benjamin F. Stevens, *A Voyage in the Constitution 1844-47* (New York, 1904; reprinted from the *United Service Magazine*) gives an account of the voyage from Mazatlan, Mexico (where William joined the vessel), around the Horn to Boston. See also for description of Monterey just prior to the occupation.

21. Four of Ephraim Herrick's letters from Charleston, South Carolina, in 1850-51, reflect the life of a decided Yankee among pre-Civil War Southerners. A long youthful poem by him was published in the *Nashua Oasis*.

22. Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., furnished many details on the Sea Derby from the log of the *Westward Ho*. Other references to it may be found in M. F. Maury's *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (New York, 1855), pp. 263-64, which characterizes the course and shows how the ships, sailing on different days, crossed and re-crossed one another. For information on this type of craft, see also Arthur H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era* (New York, 1910); Carl C. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (New York, 1930); "Introduction. Donald McKay, the Builder of Clipper Ships," in John Robinson and George F. Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England* (n.p., 1924); O. T. Howe and F. C. Matthews, *American Clipper Ships, 1833-1858* (Salem, 1927), especially pages 686-87, where it is said that the *Westward Ho's* greatest beam was "twelve feet forward amidships. Her lines were slightly concave up to the wales and convex above. . . Her masts raked somewhat less than those of other clippers of the period, the slant being $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches to the foot, respectively."

23. Date of Ephraim Herrick's death taken from *Genealogical Register of the Name and Family of Herrick* (privately printed, Columbus, 1885), p. 327.

24. Chapter I of Fidelis Cornelius' *William Keith, Old Master of California* (New York, c1942) gives an account of early artists and of Keith's own venture in commercial engraving in San Francisco. See also Langley's *San Francisco Directory*, 1872, p. 908, for description (with officers' names) of the founding of the San Francisco Art Association on March 28, 1871, in which Herrick was greatly interested, as the object was stated to be, "The promotion of Painting, Sculpture and Fine Arts akin thereto, the diffusion of a cultivated taste for art in the community at large, and the establishment of an Academy or School of Design." *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 961, gives December 31, 1873, as date of founding of the School of Design, now called the California School of Fine Arts.

25. The Marvin & Hitchcock bill here referred to was obtained through Warren Howell of San Francisco and is in the possession of the author.

26. These volumes of Cowper's poems are now owned by Miss Margaret Herrick.

27. *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco*, compiled by Dorothy H. Huggins

(San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc. Spec. Pub. 15, 1939), p. 66; and J. D. Carter, "George Kenyon Fitch," this QUARTERLY, XX (Dec. 1941), 335, 339, note 41.

28. See Herrick's own story of the assassination, in his statement to Bancroft, mentioned above. He explains that at the time King was shot he (Herrick) was with the *Alta* again where two editorials were written, one for the Vigilantes, another for "law and order" through the usual channel of the courts. The *Herald* took the latter view and went down to defeat through loss of its advertisers; the *Alta*, after some indecision, came out for the Vigilantes and thus saved its own life.

29. A letter from Lucy Kendall Herrick to her mother-in-law, during the height of the Vigilante excitement (July 1856), indicates that Herrick was not finding engraving at the *Alta California* office very remunerative. With a growing family (nine children eventually), he was forced to turn his attention to a position with more certain income.

30. The San Francisco *Almanac* for 1859 carried a full-page advertisement for the Savings and Loan Society. Besides the officers already named were the following: trustees, Albert Miller, John P. Buckley, S. B. Stoddard, M. S. Whiting, James de Fremery, C. O. Gerberding, Thomas P. Bevans, Charles Pace, Frederick Hennell; attorney, Giles H. Gray; surveyor, Gardner Elliott. T. H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, 656-57, says of them: ". . . The conductors of it were all first-class men—men who were known and had been tried and could be relied on."

31. On the map accompanying the 1863-64 edition of the San Francisco directory, a tract of land fronting the ocean at Point Lobos bears his name.

32. In the collection referred to in Note 19, above, is a "Sketch of a Police Patrol Steamer," submitted by Herrick to Hon. George A. Newhall, president of the board of police commissioners, San Francisco, March 12, 1901; a "Sketch for a Steamer Adapted to Revenue, Fire, and Harbor Service," dated Oct. 30, 1901 (the description mentions Herrick's high expansion vertical tandem single-acting cranks); and a "Sketch for a Cruising Schooner Yacht," dated Oakland, May 20, 1902, as well as several other designs.

Early History of Mono County

By MAXINE CHAPPELL

THE land of Mono is "a strange country where one is impressed with the idea that he has come too soon. . . [where] all nature wears a primitive aspect . . . [and where] all, except a few valleys and mountain meadows, is a wilderness, silent and vacant, over which the mirage dances, and the sandstorm sweeps."¹

Thus did Henry Degroot in 1860 describe the region which was soon to become the County of Mono, California. Nor do his words seem less appropriate today. From glaciated peaks, two of which, Lyell and Dana, rise more than 13,000 feet, the east wall of the Sierra Nevada drops a full half of that distance, practically without topographical interruption and with not enough trees to disguise either the suddenness or steepness of the descent. It is not to be wondered that Degroot, accustomed, as were most of the early visitors, to the heavily forested easier slopes facing the Pacific Ocean, should find the scene primitive and depressing.² At various step-like levels among boulders left by the glaciers, lie small spring- and snow-fed lakes—crystal clear but lonely ("vacant") and cold; the cheeriest note on the whole landscape is sounded by creeks which escape from them and pursue melodious courses, sometimes under canopies of aspen, to meadows at the base of the great wall, whence they drain into Mono Lake, or to Walker River northbound, or to the Owens River flowing south. Beyond the narrow green strip which the water reaches, sage-covered hills and valleys spread eastward into the arid stretches of the Great Basin.

At an elevation of over 6400 feet in the center of the county to which it has given its name, and surrounded by undulating ridges of volcanic ash and solidified lava, lies Mono Lake. This "Dead Sea of the West"³ takes up some 140 of the county's 3030 square miles, and has no visible outlet. Consequently its waters have the reputation of being ". . . quite as strong as a whiskey cocktail in a country hotel."⁴ South from the lake are the Mono Craters, long extinct but forbidding, nevertheless, from the black obsidian outflows near their summits.⁵ Wherever one looks, even at these lower levels, the usual grace bestowed by vegetation is almost wholly lacking; but the lake itself, when lights and shadows play across its blue-gray surface, can take on the mirage-like quality mentioned by Degroot. Mark Twain, who visited the region in 1862, before he acquired either his fame or his *nom de plume*, was impressed by the ease with which he could do his laundry. "Its sluggish waters," he wrote, "are so strong with alkali that if you only dip the most hopelessly soiled garment into them once or twice, and wring it out, it will be found as clean as if it had been through the ablest of washerwoman's hands. While we camped there our laundry work was

easy. We tied the week's washing astern of our boat, and sailed a quarter of a mile, and the job was complete all to the wringing out."⁶

No one who went to the lake ever failed to mention the "koo-chah-bee," the pupae of a fly, *Ephydra bians*, which breeds in the water. The very name "Mono" shows the importance of the larvae in the food economy of the Indians who lived in the area, for they were known to the Yokuts in the San Joaquin Valley as the *monachi* or "fly people."⁷ At given times each year these Indians camped on the shore of the lake to harvest and dry the "koo-chah-bee," in quantity. William H. Brewer, when he was at Mono Lake in 1864 with the Geological Survey of California, sampled the food and admitted that "if one were ignorant of its origin, it would make fine soup."⁸ The Indians, however, could not afford to be squeamish in this respect. Their land is too high (5500-7000 feet), dry and cool to encourage primitive, or, indeed, most other kinds of agriculture. Each autumn the piñon nut was gathered, and deer and other game were hunted. Old trails which lead across the Sierra are evidence that the simple diet was augmented with acorns collected by natives on the western slopes and traded for piñon nuts and obsidian arrowheads.⁹

In spite of the barrenness of the region, the Mono were in 1925, according to A. L. Kroeber,

. . . the most numerous body of Indians in California. . . . A century ago the Mono were feeble in numbers compared with many other groups. The very inhospitality of their habitat, which then caused their population to be sparse, has prevented any considerable influx of Americans and has spared them much of the consequent incisive diminution that a full and sudden dose of our civilization always brings the Indian.

These eaters of worms and nuts belonged to the Shoshonean linguistic family, and were called both Paiute and Mono. The former term, as Kroeber points out, "is unfortunate because it refers to two quite different peoples. . . . The other Paiute are in southern Utah, southern Nevada, and southern California."¹⁰ Mono is, then, a land of primitive Indians, snow-crested heights, a salt sea, slumbering craters, upland meadows, some forests, endless miles of sagebrush—and weather. "The common phenomena of wind, rain, cold, heat or storm" in the Mono country are inclined to be a little unpredictable, a fact which did not escape Samuel Clemens, for he added:

There are only two seasons . . . and these are, the breaking up of one Winter and the beginning of the next. . . . Under favorable circumstances it snows at least once in every single month in the year, in the little town of Mono. So uncertain is the climate in Summer that a lady who goes out visiting cannot hope to be prepared for all emergencies unless she takes her fan under one arm and her snow shoes under the other. . . . And they do say that as a general thing when a man calls for a brandy toddy there, the bar keeper chops it off with a hatchet and wraps it up in paper, like maple sugar.¹¹

Early Visitors

If, as many believe, Sonora Pass was the route by which Jedediah Strong Smith, Robert Evans, and Silas Goble made their famous and arduous jour-

ney east to the vicinity of Great Salt Lake in the spring of 1827, to secure aid for fellow trappers left behind in Mexican California, then they were, so far as the written record is concerned, trail blazers across the Mono country.¹² Seven years after Jed Smith and his companions either were or were not the first white men to visit the region, Capt. Benjamin Bonneville, who was conducting a trading venture in the West, sent out an expedition of some forty persons under the leadership of Joseph Reddeford Walker with instructions to reconnoiter near the Great Salt Lake. To his orders Walker seems to have given, as Caughey says, "a very liberal construction," for having passed through what is now Nevada and camped at the lake which today bears his name, the scout and his party are thought to have trudged up the East Walker River, crossed to the headwaters of the Tuolumne, and descended to the great valley of California.¹³ Walker, then, if not the first white man to traverse Mono County, was the first known to have gone into it from the east.

Earliest among the organized overland companies which were to plod their way across the plains to California during the 1840's was the Bidwell-Bartleson party. The pioneers left Sapling Grove, Missouri, in the spring of 1841 and entered what was to become Mono County by way of Antelope Valley on October 15; they then went up Slinkard Creek to Slinkard Valley, which they followed until, on the night of Sunday, October 17, they were "at an elevation of 8,000 feet in present day Alpine County, California, just about a mile northwest of the boundary line separating Alpine and Mono counties."¹⁴

In 1843-44 on his second expedition, Lt. John Charles Frémont, dragging his notorious little howitzer, wandered into the Mono country. From the sinks of Carson and the Humboldt, he circled into Bridgeport Valley and then turned north, searching for a way across the Sierra Nevada to the Pacific slope to escape a mountain winter.¹⁵ At last, at Deep Creek south of modern Coleville, on January 29, 1844, the soldier-explorer "reluctantly" abandoned his tiny cannon, pushed out of Mono County, and eventually made his way to Sutter's Fort.¹⁶

The Mono region caught only brief glimpses of Jed Smith, Joe Walker, James Bidwell and John C. Frémont, and yet they foreshadowed great events which were to occur but a few years after the howitzer was left at Deep Creek. As a result of the Mexican War, California came into the possession of the United States on February 2, 1848; a few days before, James Marshall had discovered gold at Coloma, whereupon thousands of persons took up the race for El Dorado; and on September 9, 1850, the thirty-first state entered the Union. From the American River the flood of gold seekers spread to the north and to the south, rose high against the west wall of the Sierra Nevada, and then poured through the passes, there to mingle with the many other fortune hunters who by then were digging furiously all over the West.

In June, 1852, Lt. Tredwell Moore and a detachment of regular soldiers from the Second Infantry stationed at Fort Miller on the San Joaquin River, having killed five of the tribesmen in retaliation for the murder of two prospectors, pursued the Yosemite Indians under Chief Ten-ie-ya through Mono Pass, which lies south of the currently more familiar Tioga route. The quarry eluded them, but the soldiers did a little exploring in the vicinity of the pass and of Bloody Canyon to the east, described some ten years later by Brewer as "a terrible trail. You would all pronounce it utterly inaccessible to horses, yet pack trains come down, but the bones of several horses or mules and the stench of another told that all had not passed safely. The trail comes down three thousand feet in less than four miles, over rocks and loose stones, in narrow canyons and along by precipices."¹⁷

Specimens of gold-bearing quartz, discovered on this Indian chase, were soon thereafter displayed in Mariposa, and when seen by Leroy Vining, commonly known as "Lee," lured him at once into the Mono country.¹⁸ Vining and his companions seem to have made no strikes of such importance as immediately to create a rush, or perhaps the region was too remote to be attractive while the placers on the Mother Lode were still paying well. The details of Vining's stay are not known, but by the 1860's he had erected a sawmill at which lumber was cut for delivery in Aurora, then a boom town. Apparently the mill was at his rancho on Vining River, as indicated on the Clayton map of Esmeralda and Mono (*ca.* 1860).¹⁹ The small community of Leevining at the junction of the Tioga Pass Road and the Reno-Los Angeles highway (U. S. 395) is the modern descendant of this enterprise. The Mono pioneer's career came to an abrupt end when he bled to death in an Aurora street, the victim of a bullet from a gun which went off in his own pocket.²⁰

The close of the decade found many men moving over Mono and Sonora passes, some carrying the equipment of a miner, others driving pack trains laden with goods to sustain a community in the wilderness. In 1857 a little settlement known as Dogtown had sprung up on Virginia Creek, a tributary of the East Walker. From this place Cord Norst set out in the summer of 1859 and, having wandered into Mono Gulch, just north of the lake, celebrated the Fourth of July by discovering placer deposits so rich that within a week Monoville had come into being, and Dogtown temporarily found itself with but one citizen—John Richter.²¹ To the north, this was the year the Comstock Lode was struck and Virginia, Carson, and Genoa began to thrive. But, as yet, there was little communication between the two districts; the transportation and supply lines ran east and west over the mountains.

Monoville was short lived. Lack of water was quickly recognized as the chief problem of the area, for without it the placers could not be worked. A ditch was constructed at the reported cost of \$75,000 to bring water a distance of twenty miles from Virginia Creek to the diggings, but it soon

became evident that the camp was not to be Virginia City's rival. By October, 1860, "An Old Correspondent" reported "the news of Monoville is confined to the abandonment of a Mrs. Watts from her husband, with a Mr. Wm. Donaldson,"²² and seven years later Monoville presented the desolate picture of a few cabins sagging a little more each season under the heavy weight of winter snows. Most of the buildings had been hauled off to be used elsewhere in that land where materials for construction were scarce. The town had ceased to exist²³; another El Dorado had beckoned.

Among the men who in '59 had crossed the mountains by way of Sonora Pass to the Monoville diggings was W. S. Body, who made a rich placer strike some sixteen miles north of Mono Lake, shortly thereafter froze to death, and in so doing gave his name, with a slight variation in spelling, to a tiny spot upon the map. A few men moved into the region and organized the Body Mining District, but the real strike was made in the summer of 1860, several miles east of Body, by J. M. Corey, James N. Braley, and E. H. Hicks, who located the main Esmeralda Lode and other veins of lesser importance. By March 1861, the resulting town of Aurora boasted stores, meat markets, blacksmith shops, bakeries, shoemakers, carpenter shops, a saddlery, drinking and gaming places, and restaurants.²⁴

The Lost Cement Mines

From this mushroom settlement Samuel Clemens set forth one dark night to find the "Lost Cement Mines," a reputed sample from which he described as "of a seductive nature. Lumps of virgin gold were as thick in it as raisins in a slice of fruit cake." It was perhaps inevitable that the "mysterious" land of Mono should find itself in possession of a phantom treasure almost as soon as a mining population moved in. The story was whispered as news, told as legend, and even read from the printed page as early as 1872, when, with the publication of *Roughing It*, ten years after he failed to make his fortune at Aurora, Clemens began to pan pay dirt. Many tales of the "Lost Cement Mines" were printed, and although Wright (note 21, above), who had spent considerable time gathering data about the "mines" and the searches made for the rich vein, complained in 1879 that "Friend Mark was giving us humor rather than history," his account does not differ essentially from that of Clemens, and both these and the other reports written later bear a marked resemblance to all lost treasure yarns spun at all times and in all places.

Two men traveling through the Sierra Nevada to the California gold fields sat down to rest somewhere near the headwaters of the Owens River and found themselves staring at a rock ledge which seemed so filled with gold that they argued as to whether it could really be the precious metal. When they continued their journey, they carried with them a large sample of the "cement." In true lost-treasure story fashion, one of the discoverers died in San Francisco before he could return to claim his fortune, but not

until after he had given into the keeping of the doctor who attended him during his last illness the lump of ore brought from the mountains and a rough chart of the location of the strike. The companion is reported to have died, also, although Wright believes he lived to reach the gold-laden vein again, only to be driven away by hostile Indians. The doctor having possession of the chart immediately organized a search for the fortune to which he was convinced he held the key. Among the men whom he employed was a prospector, Gid Whiteman or Whitman. In due course the doctor seems to have given up his quest, but Whiteman carried on, and was still seeking the ledge nearly twenty years later when Wright published his version of the story of the Lost Cement Mines.

It was Whiteman whom, under cover of darkness, Sam Clemens and a few of his friends, having secret information that the prospector was about to set out, attempted to follow from Aurora in the hope of being guided to the fabled treasure. However, the combination of an inadequately fastened pack and a balky horse, led, of course, by Clemens, spelled disaster to the expedition, for at a crucial moment the cargo fell to the ground and the clatter of tin cups, coffee pot and frying pan served as an alarm to the camp that something was afoot. By dawn dozens of persons were jogging along on Whiteman's trail; but Clemens and his companions, knowing that, under the circumstances, Whiteman, even if he knew where it was, probably would not approach the mine, consoled themselves by pitching camp on the shores of Mono Lake and for a few days forgetting the cares of unsuccessful miners.²⁵

The County of Mono

As early as 1860 enough people were living in the region reaching north and south of Mono Lake to create an agitation for the establishment of county government on the east slope of the Sierra Nevada. A petition was accordingly presented to the senate of the California legislature of that year by citizens of Mariposa, Tulare, Fresno and Calaveras counties. It was necessary to make the proposal again, with the added appeals of Amador and Tuolumne county delegations, at the next session of the legislature, and this time, due no doubt to the obvious need of county jurisdiction, because of the rapid growth of Aurora in the interim, the project carried easily.²⁶ The suggested name of Esmeralda was changed to Mono, and the county was created by act of March 24, 1861. Aurora was named the seat of justice, and the boundaries of the new county were designated as follows:

Commencing at a point where the southern line of Amador County is intersected by the main summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; thence running due east to the eastern boundary of the State; thence in a southeasterly direction, along the said boundary line of Fresno County; thence along said line in a westerly direction, to the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; thence in a northwesterly direction, along the said summit to the place of beginning.²⁷

Minor changes were made in this delineation from time to time, the most

important being the loss in 1866 of a considerable area of good—and rare—agricultural land with some mineral resources, to the newly created Inyo County on the south. In 1870 further territory was ceded to Inyo in exchange for payment of \$12,000, the boundary being moved north twenty miles.²⁸

The legislative act which set up the county boundaries provided also for an election to be held on June 1, 1861,²⁹ to choose a full roster of county officials with the exception of county judge, who was to be appointed by the governor; all were to hold office for the whole term commencing with the next annual election for assemblyman.³⁰ For representative purposes the county was attached to Tuolumne County.³¹ The first meeting of the Mono County supervisors was held in Aurora on June 13, 1861.³²

Almost immediately a political scandal occurred. On August 26, 1861, the citizens of California went to the polls, and, together with Tuolumne County, Mono returned Leander Quint, Union Democrat, as state senator, and B. K. Davis, Breckenridge Democrat, as assemblyman. The defeated Republican candidate for assemblyman, Nelson M. Orr, decided to make an investigation. He learned that Big Springs Precinct in the White Mountain mining district, in a remote region of Mono County, had been established by the new Mono supervisors shortly before the state election, in response to a petition bearing a number of signatures. Delving further into the matter, Orr discovered that there were very few men in the region, and, moreover, returns had come in from the district only for governor, senator, and assemblyman. Orr and Joseph M. Cavis, the defeated candidate for state senator, now applied to the legislature to be seated in place of the two Democrats. In the inquiry which followed, the county clerk of Mono County (former county surveyor of Tuolumne County), R. M. Wilson, testified that, while he was on his way to San Francisco to attend the hearing, the all-important ballot and poll lists, described as four pieces of blue foolscap paper fastened at the top with a pin, left his possession. There were varying stories as to just how this occurred. Finally, a list was produced which contained a few familiar names, but the remainder was identified, by a man who had been aboard the vessel, as the passenger list of a ship from Panama to San Francisco. It was recommended that the perpetrators of the fraud lose their positions in the legislature.³³

Aurora, Seat of Two Counties

By an odd circumstance, three weeks before the County of Mono came into being, the Territory of Nevada was organized by act of Congress on March 2, 1861. The first territorial governor, James W. Nye, arrived at his new capital in July, 1861, and issued a proclamation for a general election for members of the territorial council to be held on August 4. He named Aurora as one of the election districts. Governor Nye was proceeding entirely within his rights, for although the act of organization defined the

eastern boundary of Mono County as extending along the state line, no one really knew just where that line was. True, the members of the California constitutional convention of 1849 had, after much argument, declared it to be, in so far as it affected Mono, a straight line running southeasterly from the 39th parallel at the 120th meridian to the Colorado River at the intersection of the 35th parallel,³⁴ but since the actual survey never had been made, Governor Nye's guess was probably as good as the next man's. The thriving young camp was certainly worth laying claim to. With the creation of Esmeralda County by the first Nevada territorial legislature, Aurora became "the seat of justice of two counties, under the laws of one State and one Territory."³⁵

That the California legislature was not entirely unaware of the difficulties the phantom eastern boundary line would present is indicated by the fact that two days after Mono County was set up, a commissioner was appointed to act with the U. S. surveyor in locating the line, and an appropriation of \$10,000 to defray expenses was made. On November 29, 1861, the Nevada territorial legislature added \$1,000 to this sum. To avoid obvious difficulties the county of Esmeralda was excepted from the provisions of the Nevada territorial legislative act of November 28, 1861, which called for an election of county officers on January 14, 1862, although the governor was empowered "to appoint officers and organize the county of Esmeralda, whenever in his opinion it was desirable to do so."³⁶ No line having been drawn by September 3, 1862, when Nevada again held an election, the choice of county officials for Esmeralda was once more passed by, although members were chosen for the territorial legislature.

One can hardly suppose that the citizens of Aurora took this situation calmly. Arguments on the streets, at the mines, and in the numerous saloons must have been frequent and fervid, especially if warmed by a little "sagebrush whiskey." "There was," as one writer points out, "but little else than the inclination of the people"—that best of ammunition for verbal combat—which "decided their opinions as to the location of this line. . . . As a rule the Republicans were in favor of Nevada, and the Democrats of California, and as at that time the Republicans were in a large majority, California stock was quoted very low."³⁷ In spite of this, it was Gov. John G. Downey's appointee, Judge Baldwin, who exercised jurisdiction in the court, and the state legislature continued to grant toll, water and gas franchises for Aurora and vicinity.³⁸

On April 27, 1863, the surveyor general of California, J. F. Houghton, was directed by legislative act to make the long-delayed survey. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose, and the Nevada authorities were requested to appoint someone to act in conjunction with the California representative. As soon as the point of intersection of the 39th parallel of north latitude and the 120th meridian of west longitude

specified in the California constitution was determined to be within the blue waters of Lake Tahoe, the governor of Nevada was convinced that the boundary between state and territory would lie far enough west to make good his claim to Aurora. Acting under the authority granted him on November 28, 1861, he appointed (on June 22) officers for Esmeralda County, whose chief duty was to organize the county and make preparations for a general election to be held in September.³⁹ The next month George Turner, chief justice of the territory, was ordered to open court in Aurora as judge of the second district. Judge Baldwin, of course, was concurrently hearing cases under the laws of California. Litigants chose the court of their preference, and there is no record of any particular difficulty arising from this anomalous situation.⁴⁰

Election day in September 1863 found Aurora a very busy place, indeed. To do his civic duty, the citizen had to go to the polls twice in a single day. The boundary commission had not yet reached Aurora, and Mono as well as Esmeralda County was electing a full panel of officials. Ballots for the Nevada county were collected at the armory hall and those for Mono at the police station. Numerous stops for liquid refreshment and political discussion undoubtedly took place en route from one polling place to the other, but no violence is reported. Union Republicans were victorious on both tickets.⁴¹ With foresight the successful candidates for sheriff in each county made a compact whereby whichever found himself forced to move from the metropolis of Aurora to an, as yet, unselected county seat in either Esmeralda or Mono, would be spared this misfortune by being appointed deputy sheriff by the lucky winner.⁴²

Twenty days after the election the boundary commission passed by Aurora, and California lost the mining town by the narrow margin of "some three and one-third miles."⁴³ There were the inevitable bitter remarks about a jog in the line, but Governor Nye had been right. Monuments consisting of sawed pine posts, seven inches square, marked with the abbreviations "Cal." and "Nev." on opposite sides with "Bound" indicated on a third face, were set up by the commission in piles of rock on the roads from Aurora to Big Meadows and to the Bodie mines. On the west side of the road from Aurora to Monoville a pine post, six inches square and six feet long, marked with the letters "C" and "N," was also set in a stone mound.⁴⁴ Duels are reported to have been fought over the merits of the boundary commission's decision. There is, however, actual record of only one, and even its true cause is not stated. From the date of its occurrence on October 5, 1863, one might, nevertheless, infer that this is the incident which gave rise to the story. The participants were R. E. Draper, the tall thin editor of the *Aurora Times*, and stocky Dr. W. H. Eichelroth. The place was Bodie Rancho; the weapons were shotguns loaded with ball and fired at a distance of forty yards. At the second fire Draper was wounded in the foot, the effects of

which left him crippled for life. Following the exchange of shots, the duelists shook hands; "honor" had been satisfied.⁴⁵

Judge Baldwin closed his court immediately after Aurora was declared outside of California, and County Clerk R. M. Wilson—he of the lost ballots—and Treasurer William Feast, in spite of wonderful tales of Mono ranchers "armed to the teeth" dashing into town and seizing the county records, simply loaded the documents in a wagon and drove across the newly designated state line to the nearest community, which happened to be Bodie, population about seventeen.⁴⁶ Most of the recently elected officials of Mono County refused to leave Aurora, and it was necessary for the governor of California to appoint substitutes, although, as yet, there was no county seat at which they might function. Mono County had collected taxes in Aurora for 1861 and 1862, but not for 1863. When funds gave out, the Mono officials refused to recognize warrants issued before the boundary settlement, declaring that the expense was incurred for Aurora's benefit and should be paid for by Esmeralda County.⁴⁷

Bridgeport Becomes the County Seat

With the seat of government on, as far as Mono was concerned, the wrong side of the pine posts erected by the boundary survey, the county found itself "in a partially unorganized condition." Its 430 inhabitants, "Indians included," according to Chalfant,⁴⁸ were widely scattered, and although the area was still believed to be rich in mineral resources it lacked a "centralized population . . . engaged in developing those resources."⁴⁹ Strangely enough, neither of the two leading candidates for the county seat was a mining center. Several miles north of Mono Lake, where numerous streams converge into the East Walker River, lay Big Meadows. Sprinkled over the floor of the valley were people engaged in whatever agricultural pursuits the climate would permit, while to the west on the mountain slopes small stands of timber had beckoned as an enterprise. Somehow in the autumn of 1863 Big Meadows suddenly became the town of Bridgeport and an active participant in the race for county seat.⁵⁰ Its chief rival was Owensville, also an agricultural center, to the south in the Owens River Valley. The situation was one which lent itself to political intrigue. A resident of the Keyes District wrote on February 18, 1864:

We are all here much exercised as to the location of the county seat. Talk of fraud, buying up Senators from Mono and Tuolumne is bandied about, and the general impression is that there is a screw loose somewhere. A correspondent of the Esmeralda Star says openly that Haskins [Haskin], the Senator from Mono, has a large interest in the turnpike road leading from Aurora to Bridgeport. That the joint delegations of Tuolumne and Mono Counties referred the legislation concerning the matter to Haskins, and that he pocketed the petitions and otherwise silenced the voice of the Owens' Valley people on the question. When it is understood that Owensville alone has about twice the population of Bridgeport; that Bishop's Creek Valley, Chrysopolis Camp, Adobe, and Spring Valley can each poll a much larger legal vote than the place

named you can easily understand that they "don't like it very much" to have to go to a "one-horse town" totally inaccessible in winter to receive or demand justice.⁵¹

Senator J. W. Haskin, spoken of in such unfavorable terms in the communication, had gone to Aurora from San Francisco in April 1863 as superintendent of the Falls of Clyde Mining Company. His family continued to reside in the bay city and Haskin maintained an office there. He had been chosen for the California senate at the dual election in Aurora, and then, as the boundary commission approached, had probably decided that Aurora would no longer be in California and had moved to Big Meadows on September 10. It may have been at the senator's instigation that the town of Bridgeport suddenly came into existence. Haskin later successfully defended his right to his seat in the legislature when it was challenged by Charles H. Randall.⁵²

The matter of the county seat finally was decided at a special election on June 14, 1864, Bridgeport being declared the victor. The records which had been reposing in Bodie were moved, and the supervisors held a meeting on September 1⁵³ at a small inn, possibly that which also claimed to be the first house in Bridgeport, built the year before by "Lewis Ladd's father."⁵⁴

Dissatisfied with the situation, a section of southern Mono County, including Owensville, together with that part of Tulare County which lay east of the Sierra, requested the creation of a new county to be called Coso. The organization, however, was never completed and in 1866 the matter again was placed before the legislature, with the result that Inyo County was set up. In addition to Mono's initial loss of territory to Inyo, the boundary was in 1870, as we have seen, pushed north again some twenty miles.⁵⁵

Just about the time Bridgeport became the county seat, a strike occurred in the White Mountains region which led eventually to the establishment of the town of Benton. There a Dr. Partz attempted to operate a furnace for the reduction of ores, but the venture was unsuccessful. In 1866 A. B. Williams started a sawmill, but both this and one built east of Benton in 1870 by W. J. Williams failed. These were but temporary setbacks, however, and by the late 1870's Benton's population was 600, and the town boasted all the necessary business and professional establishments, including "a fashionable tonsorial saloon" which advertised "shaving, shampooing and hair cutting. A specialty made of dyeing hair and whiskers in any color. Benites Hair Tonic and Whisker Invigorator. Verbena Shampoo and Fire Water for 'Big Heads.' Perfumery, Hair Oils, Cosmetic, Soaps, and Metallic Hair Brushes," and, as an afterthought, "Teeth Extracted."⁵⁶

Economic Development

To an area as remote as Mono County, transportation facilities were a matter of prime importance. Supplies had to be brought into or carried from one part of the region to another. The toll road furnished the quickest answer to the problem, and franchises were first granted by the state and

later by the county. The person or company who secured a franchise constructed and maintained the turnpike, and collected fees from all who used it. The rates were always stipulated in the franchise, and the following for a road running from Aurora to Bridgeport Valley may be considered as typical:⁵⁷ Wagon and span, \$1.50; empty team, \$0.75; man on horse, \$0.50; loose animals, \$0.10. There was no prearranged plan of roadways; when the need arose, a highway of sorts was constructed between the places involved. Eventually, of course, many of these early turnpikes were absorbed into the county and state highway systems.

Pack trains following the rough trails had begun to move back and forth across the mountains as soon as mining strikes took white men in any considerable numbers into the Mono country. As early as 1863 efforts were made to push a free road over Sonora Pass. In May of that year the *Stockton Independent* earnestly advocated approval of the road in the hope that it would make the San Joaquin River city a real rival of Sacramento in the transmontane trade.⁵⁸ The road was to be 98 miles in length and its estimated cost, \$400,000. A bond issue was soon exhausted; franchises were then let and the project became a toll road completed and opened to traffic in 1868, though snow made it impassable several months of each year.⁵⁹ In the later 1870's a stage line operated over the turnpike. Thus Mono, because the county lay between the Great Valley of California with its supplies and Aurora with its markets and treasure, early had road connections across the Sierra. On the other hand, after its definite establishment in Nevada, Aurora turned more and more toward Carson and Virginia City, a tie which was strengthened in 1869 by the completion of the transcontinental railroad a little distance north of these communities.

In 1867 only five persons in Mono County were listed as having incomes of over \$1,000;⁶⁰ notwithstanding, the county was laying its economic foundations. Sheep and cattle were driven in at an early date, the first cattle brand being recorded at the county seat in 1866.⁶¹ Fruit would not grow, but by 1877 some wheat, barley, oats, beans, and potatoes were being raised. Dairies were established and soon produced enough milk, cheese, and butter to meet local needs.⁶² By far the most luxuriant crop was hay, and an estimated 1300 tons cut from Big Meadows in 1863 sold in Aurora for from \$65 to \$100 a ton. This market, however, was only temporary.⁶³

One of the first industries to thrive in Mono County, in spite of the small source of supply, was lumbering. The best stands of timber were on the west slope of Bridgeport Valley and south of Mono Lake. Lack of water power at the latter place postponed its use for some time. Wood was needed desperately for building, heating and cooking, and for the mines, as quartz took precedence over the placer. Tunnels must be timbered. Lee Vining, as we have seen, had been quick to take advantage of this, and in 1863 the boundary commission reported four sawmills with one lath and two shingle

machines in operation on the streams flowing into Big Meadows.⁶⁴ Pine was cut for lumber, mine props and cordwood, while piñon and juniper served for props and fuel. Circular and jig-saws were in use, and the saw at Lundy's mill was described as "one of the sort that . . . went up today and came down tomorrow."⁶⁵

For several years there was little to disturb the even tenor of life in Mono County. Each spring the deep white of winter retreated briefly to high mountain tops and then swiftly descended the slopes again. Cattle and sheep men, farmers, lumberjacks, a few professional men, merchants, and saloon keepers led remote pioneer lives. Hopeful miners wended their way along streams or across sagebrush hills searching the Lost Cement Mines or perhaps even more nebulous forms of El Dorado. By 1877 there were, all-told, about 1,000 persons in Mono County.

Then something happened. Near the place where the bones of W. S. Body had lain unmarked for seventeen years, a strike occurred. Mono was swiftly, as reported in the journals of the day, "revived." In quick succession the Lake, Laurel Hill, and Prescott Districts were organized.⁶⁶ Lundy on Mill Creek and Mammoth near the lakes of that name began to boom. Aurora, whose glory had long since faded, looked with jealous eyes across the famous boundary. Mono was about to enter a new era, an era punctuated by the crack of bad men's pistols, glittering with gold and silver, and filled with dreams of lasting greatness. These years were to become the memorable part of Mono County's past, beside which the events just recorded have paled into insignificance and are in a fair way of being forgotten.

NOTES

1. Henry Degroot, *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines with a Description of the Soil, Climate and Mineral Resources of the Country East of the Sierras* (San Francisco, 1860), pp. 5-6.

2. Annual precipitation at Bridgeport (elevation, 6473 ft.) averages 10.7 inches, whereas Placerville, for example, on the west side of the Sierra, with only 1925 feet of elevation, has an annual average of 41.47 inches. Forest growth on the east wall is limited mostly to sparse stands of Jeffrey pine (*Pinus ponderosa* var. *jeffreyi* Vasey), California juniper (*Juniperus californica* var. *Utahensis* Englm.), and piñon (*Pinus cembroides* var. *monophylla* Voss.), with aspen (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.) where there is moisture.

3. J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country; a Tour through Arizona and Sonora* (New York, 1871), p. 421. For the names of the islands, Pa-o-ha (Indian word for vapor spirits, and hence, hot springs, which occur on the island), and Negit (Indian for the blue-winged goose), see I. C. Russell, *Quaternary History of Mono Valley, California* (Washington, D. C., 1889), pp. 278-79.

4. R. K. Colcord, "Reminiscences of Life in Territorial Nevada," this *QUARTERLY*, VII (June, 1928), p. 112.

5. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 275, says that though long extinct the craters are, geologically speaking, recent.

6. Samuel L. Clemens, *Roughing It* (Hartford, c1872), p. 265.

7. Katherine Karpenstein, "Names and Places," *California Folklore Quarterly*, IV (January, 1945), p. 91.

8. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, edited by Francis P. Farquhar (New Haven, 1930), p. 418.

9. John Charles Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition . . . to Oregon and North California . . . 1843-44*, 28th Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Doc. 174 (Washington, D. C., 1845), p. 226, says that these pine nuts formed the Indians' "great winter subsistence—a portion being always on hand, shut up in the natural storehouse of the cones . . . they were presented to us as a whole people living upon this simple vegetable." See also William M. Maule, *A Contribution to the Geographic and Economic History of the Carson, Walker and Mono Basins in Nevada and California* (San Francisco, 1938), p. 11.

10. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D. C., 1917), pp. 581, 587.

11. Clemens, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

12. For discussions of the Smith route, the reader is referred to: Francis P. Farquhar, "Jedediah Smith and the First Crossing of the Sierra Nevada," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, XXVIII (June, 1943), pp. 36-53; and F. A. Wiley, "Jedediah Smith in the West" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Univ. of Calif., 1941). Of interest also are these few lines on page 21 of the *History of Nevada*, edited by Myron Angel and published in Oakland in 1881: "The only information in our possession in regard to the direction taken by Smith on his return trip across the country is contained in the following extract from a letter to us upon that subject from Captain Robert Lyon, of San Buenaventura, California: ' . . . His, Smith's notes [the whereabouts of which are now unknown] mention the discovery of Mono Lake (or dead sea) in his return trip in 1825 [this, of course, was 1827]. . . . Rocky Mountain Jack, or Uncle Jack, as he was called, and Bill Reed both spent the summer of 1860 in Mono, and were well known at that time, and both of these old trappers declared they were with Smith in 1825, and that they spent a week prospecting and picking up gold in those foot-hills in 1825. . . . Bill Byrnes, well known in Carson City, always claimed that Jed Smith discovered the Mono mines in 1825 although he (Byrnes) was not of the party'."

13. John W. Caughey, *California* (New York, 1940), pp. 236-37. W. R. Maule, for many years forest supervisor of the Mono National Forest, believes that Walker crossed north of the Walker River drainage, and thus would not have entered Mono (letter dated Minden, April 5, 1932, quoted in R. S. Ellsworth, "The Discovery of the Big Trees of California, 1833-1852," M. A. thesis, Univ. of Calif., 1933, pp. 11-12). See also Maule, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

14. William G. Paden, "Bidwell's Route of the Sierras, a Field Study" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Univ. of Calif., 1940), pp. 18-20.

15. Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 225, wrote in his journal on Jan. 29, 1844, that they had been on the "edge" of the Great Basin since Dec. 17, 1843. ". . . we had still the great ridge on the left to cross before we could reach the Pacific waters."

16. Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 226, said of his howitzer: "It was of the kind invented by the French for the mountain part of their war in Algiers; and the distance it had come with us [from St. Louis] proved how well it was adapted to its purpose." See also F. P. Farquhar, "Frémont in the Sierra Nevada," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, XV (1930), 79; Effie Mona Mack, *Nevada, a History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War* (Glendale, 1936), p. 92. The howitzer was recovered in 1861 by one Sheldon. He sold it to purchasers from Virginia City, who placed it in the corner of a dance hall in the National Guard Building. Eventually it turned up at Glenbrook, Lake Tahoe, but disappeared from there in 1933 (*ibid.*, p. 93). Through the efforts of Dr. Paden, the

cannon purported to be Frémont's is now in a gun collection in the Nevada Art and Historical Museum at Carson City.

17. Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-16.
18. L. H. Bunnell, *Discovery of the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 Which Led to That Event* (Chicago, c1880), pp. 273-78; Carl P. Russell, "Early Mining Excitements East of Yosemite," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, XIII (1928), pp. 40-41.
19. Maule, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
20. Letter (1928) from C. F. Quinby to W. M. Maule, quoted in F. P. Farquhar, "Lee Vining," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, XIII (1928), 83-84.
21. William A. Chalfant, *Story of Inyo* (Los Angeles, 1933), p. 126; J. W. A. Wright, "The Owens River War and the Cement Hunters. A Historical Sketch Strange as Fiction," *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, Nov. 15, 1879.
22. Letter from an "Old Correspondent," Oct. 11, 1860, in *Scrapbook - Mono County* (Bancroft Library).
23. *Scrapbook - Mono County*, as above.
24. *Sacramento Union*, March 9, 1861.
25. William A. Chalfant, *Outposts of Civilization* (Boston, 1928), pp. 43-50; also his *Tales of the Pioneers* (Stanford, 1942), pp. 50-54; Clemens, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-261; Wright, *op. cit.*, Nov. 15, 22, Dec. 6, 1879.
26. Owen C. Coy, *The Genesis of California Counties* (Berkeley, 1923), p. 24.
27. *California Statutes* (Sacramento, 1861), p. 235.
28. Coy, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Historical Records Survey Project (Northern California), *Inventory of the County Archives of California, No. 27, Mono County* (Bridgeport) (San Francisco, 1940), p. 6.
29. Commissioners appointed to organize the county and arrange the first election were: P. J. Hickey, W. M. Baring, E. W. Casey, C. N. Noteware, L. A. Browne, G. W. Bailey, and T. A. Lane.
30. Historical Records Survey Project, *op. cit.*, p. 7. J. A. Moultrie was appointed county judge, but resigned after a short time and was replaced by Judge Baldwin. The elected officers were: R. M. Wilson, county clerk; N. F. Scott [who was killed shortly thereafter in the Inyo Indian war and was replaced by G. W. Bailey, who had served on the board of commissioners appointed to organize the county and arrange the first election], sheriff; William Feast, treasurer; L. Tuttle, surveyor; E. Green, Charles W. Worland, and J. S. Schultz, supervisors.
31. *Loc. cit.*; Myron Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 401.
32. Carl P. Russell, *One Hundred Years in Yosemite* (Stanford, 1931), p. 139.
33. Chalfant, *Story of Inyo, op. cit.*, p. 142; Historical Records Survey Project, *op. cit.*, p. 8; *Senate Journal*, Thirteenth Session (Sacramento, 1862), pp. 325-338, 346-355; "Report of Testimony Taken before the Senate Committee on Elections in the Contested Election Case. Joseph M. Cavis, Contestant, against Leander Quint, Respondent," *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Thirteenth Session (Sacramento, 1862).
34. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI (San Francisco, 1890), p. 296.
35. Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
36. *Loc. cit.*
37. *Loc. cit.*
38. Historical Records Survey Project, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
39. Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
40. *Loc. cit.*; Historical Records Survey Project, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
41. Chalfant, *Outposts of Civilization, op. cit.*, p. 78. For Mono: county clerk, John Hawkins, sheriff, H. J. Teel; treasurer, E. R. Rhoades; assessor, J. H. Smith.
42. Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
43. *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Fifteenth Session (Sacramento, 1864), I, p. 68.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
45. Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 297; Colcord, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
46. Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
47. *Loc. cit.*
48. Chalfant, *The Story of Inyo*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
49. *Scrapbook — Mono County (as above)*, October 1863.
50. As late as 1873 the names Bridgeport and Big Meadows were being used concurrently in the *Great Register*. In 1875, only the name Bridgeport appears.
51. Published in the *Alta California*, Feb. 29, 1864.
52. "Contested Election Case of Charles H. Randall vs. J. W. Haskin," *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Fifteenth Session, II, No. 15.
53. F. W. McIntosh, *Mono County, California: The Land of Promise for the Man of Industry* (Reno, 1908), p. 5.
54. "Queen of Them All Was Virginia City," *The Timberman*, XLII (June, 1941), p. 56.
55. Coy, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-33.
56. *Mono Weekly Messenger*, Feb. 8, 1879.
57. Maule, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
58. *Scrapbook — Mono County*, as above.
59. Edna Bryan Buckbee, *The Saga of Old Tuolumne* (New York, 1935), pp. 376-77.
60. *Sacramento Union*, Aug. 24, 1867.
61. "Brands and Earmarks, 1866-1915" (manuscript in Mono County Court House, Bridgeport).
62. *Scrapbook — Mono County (as above)*, 1877.
63. "Annual Report of the Surveyor General, for 1863," *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Fifteenth Session, I, 66-67.
64. "Annual Report of the Surveyor General, for 1863," *op. cit.*, p. 66.
65. "Queen of Them All . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 58.
66. Joseph Wasson, *Complete Guide to the Mono County Mines. Description of Bodie, Esmeralda, Indian, Lake, Laurel Hill, Prescott, and Other Mining Districts* (San Francisco, 1879), pp. vii-viii.

A Petition from Alpheus B. Thompson to Governor Victoria

Translated, with Introduction and Notes,

By D. MACKENZIE BROWN

INTRODUCTION

THIS document, now in the Thompson Collection of the Santa Barbara Historical Society, has a twofold interest. It highlights the early career of Alpheus B. Thompson and his associates by revealing, in connection with the related circumstances, something of his methods of operation. It also reflects certain conditions existing in the province of Upper California and the government's policies relative thereto.

The petition is concerned chiefly with the necessity of obtaining special permission for the landing of goods which were being denied entry under Mexican laws designed to encourage domestic production. The newly appointed governor, Manuel Victoria, after assuming office on January 31, 1831, stated the following day that "the laws must be executed, the government obeyed."¹ It is against this strict enforcement policy that Thompson is appealing. The forbidden items are sugar and tobacco. The remainder of the cargo is not entirely known, since the *Convoy's* manifest, referred to in the petition, is not available, despite the fact that many of the invoices of Thompson and Jones vessels for the period are in the Santa Barbara Historical Society's Thompson Collection. The latter also includes shipping instructions for this cargo from Thompson's associates, William French and Eliab Grimes, who had joined him and John C. Jones in purchasing the *Convoy*. None of these papers, however, mentions the contents of the invoice, merely specifying hides or furs in payment.² The fullest information on the nature of the cargo is found in Thompson's accounts with J. B. R. Cooper in May and October of 1831.³ The account of May 5, two days after the arrival of the *Convoy*, reveals a cargo of Chinese silks, and such items as boots, wash bowls, spades, and sugar. Cooper bought 284 pounds of this last restricted item.

It would appear, however, that the shipments made on the *Convoy* at this time were a secondary consideration. The primary purpose of the voyage to California from Oahu (leaving March 6) is to be found in the petition's passing reference to the brig's having arrived "with the object of becoming nationalized."⁴ This would permit her owners during the 1831 season to participate in the lucrative business of otter hunting along the California coast, an activity that had been forbidden to all but Mexican citizens.⁵ Nationalization of a vessel could be effected by selling a portion

of it to a Mexican citizen. To further their objective, arrangements were being carried out with all possible secrecy by Thompson and his three associates.⁶ The Mexican citizen to whom they planned to sell the required portion of the *Convoy* was J. B. R. Cooper, whose accounts with Thompson have been referred to above. Accordingly, on May 30 we find Cooper agreeing with Thompson to buy a fifth interest for \$1200, if the transaction would result in the brig's being placed under the Mexican flag.⁷

Regarding the internal conditions of the province and the government's attitude toward them, it is evident from the petition that there was a great scarcity of certain commodities in California, which was not being alleviated by shipments from the Republic of Mexico. Governor Victoria appears here as willing to adopt a reasonable position toward foreign merchants, in spite of his rigid law enforcement policy.⁸ Doubtless his decision was influenced both by the shortages and by the obvious consideration that the customs duties paid would enrich the government's treasury.

The petition, addressed to the governor, is referred by Victoria to Commissioner Joaquin Gomez for comment. The latter strongly supports Thompson's representations and recommends approval. Victoria thereupon grants the request. The entire document, including Thompson's petition, is in Spanish.

Stamp: Thirty two reales

Qualified provisionally by law Interim Subordinate Commissariat of the Port of Monterey for the years 1830 and 1831

[Victoria rubric]

[Signed] Pico [rubric]

1831, May 3

Mr. Commanding General and Governor of the Province:

I, A. B. Thompson, native of the United States of the North and Supercargo of the Brig *Convoy* address you with the greatest respect and in due form state: that the cause of my having brought certain goods prohibited by the laws of this Republic was my being informed by my agents that in this territory, on account of the conditions of scarcity in the land, it was permissible to import all the goods and items that I declared in the invoice which I presented to this Maritime Customs House. The Commissariat brings to my attention your pronouncement that the laws imposing a prohibition on certain foreign articles should be carried into effect, but the amount of goods which I bring is so small that although the territory might abound in them they would do no harm; also, they are so necessary that all the merchants in this Port would try to obtain permission for their sale. Besides what I have just stated, I shall also reveal to you the fact that the aforementioned Brig which has brought these goods comes with the inten-

tion of becoming nationalized; and if you absolutely cannot permit me the favor I ask, I shall be unable to find any place in which to store the above items; and to find a means of returning them to the place from which they came would be exceedingly difficult for me. Therefore I respectfully ask you to give sympathetic consideration to my petition and I shall consider it a favor.

[Signed] A. B. Thompson [rubric]

Monterey, May 3, 1831

Notify commissioner Joaquin Gomez.⁹

[Signed] Victoria [rubric]

Monterey, May 4, 1831

Mr. Commanding General and Governor of the Province:

Informed of the above representation that the petitioner makes to you, and granting the truth of all that he says about the necessity of the prohibited goods and of there being no hope at this moment that they can be replenished from the Republic, I am of the opinion that, if you approve, he should be permitted to sell. Several citizens have come to request that you grant permission so that he can sell them sugar and tobacco, and the supply being short, the public need will be alleviated and a greater sum of money will go to the Commissariat for the assistance of the four Presidios to take care of the condition in which the soldiery finds itself.¹⁰

[Signed] Jose Joaquin Gomez [rubric]

Monterey, May 4, 1831¹¹

In view of the preceding report and agreeing that there is need at this time for the articles referred to, let the petitioner in this instance be permitted to sell the aforementioned goods subject to the proper duties for the execution of the National Laws.

[Signed] Victoria [rubric]

NOTES

1. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), III, 185.
2. William French to Alpheus B. Thompson, Oahu, Feb. 28, 1831; Eliab Grimes to same, Oahu, Feb. 27, 1831; and John C. Jones to same, Oahu, March 2, 1831 (originals in Thompson Collection, Santa Barbara Historical Society).
3. A. B. Thompson in account with J. B. R. Cooper, Monterey, May 5, 1831 and Oct. 12, 1831, in Vallejo Documents, XX, Nos. 358, 359 (Bancroft Library, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley).
4. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley, 1941), p. 175. The dates April 7-14 listed by Ogden for the visit of the *Convoy* to Monterey do not accord with the dates of this petition, May 3-4.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105, 121.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
8. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*

9. Jose Joaquin Gomez was a Mexican trader who had arrived in California in 1830 and became a customs official and comisario subalterno at Monterey the following year. Later, in 1846, he was "reported to the govt at Wash. by Larkin as a man of property and character, friendly to the U. S." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 758-59.

10. The support of the garrisons in the four presidios, San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, was a problem of long standing to the provincial government and was a source of much friction between the government and the missions. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89; also Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1925), pp. 391, 458-59.

11. The date here appears to be May 7, or possibly May 4. I have used the latter, since Thompson's account with Cooper (*see* Note 3 above) shows sugar to have been purchased on May 5.

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Continued)

In the fall of 1858 I was engaged by E. P. Northam and H. M. Whitmore at \$150 per month to make out the deeds in settlement of the Limantour claim to all of San Francisco south of California street, and at this employment I became a good conveyancer during the three months of its continuance.

A sketch of the circumstances that led to this employment may be interesting. The reader doubtless knows that one of the first acts of congress passed after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo upon the conclusion of the Mexican War, by which California and other territories were acquired by the United States, was the famous act establishing the land commission, before which every private claimant to lands in this state, purporting to have been granted by Mexico, was required to prove the legality of his claim under Mexican laws. Some 900 claims were tried before this commission, many of which were rejected as fraudulent, while the rapacity of the lawyers employed by the owners of good claims, and the long litigation imposed by subsequent laws giving the right of appeal from the commission to the regular United States courts, generally resulted in the ruin of the original claimants.

Gen. James Wilson of New Hampshire, the Whig orator who had so riveted my attention at Burlington in 1840 and had made a Whig of me while whiggery lasted, had been appointed United States attorney before the land commission on its organization in 1851. He retained this position only long enough to find out that he could make a great deal more money as attorney of claimants than he could from his salary as the attorney of the United States. He then resigned and offered his services to the claimants.

Among these was José de Limantour, an adventurous Frenchman, who had long resided in Mexico and was as smart as he was unscrupulous and well posted. This man engaged Wilson's services to prosecute a pretended Mexican grant to all of that portion of San Francisco south of California street and lying above high water mark.

The settlers on that tract then numbered many thousands, and the value of the property when the claim was first sprung on them already reached several millions of dollars. Of course much indignation was excited by this attempt to grab half the city from the people who had created all the value in controversy. Meetings were held, a committee of defense appointed, and a contract was finally executed between some hundreds of the settlers and Messrs. Northam and Whitmore to the effect that the latter gentlemen

should contest the Limantour claim in the courts and manage the case for the people; in consideration of their services wherein, they were paid in cash one per cent of the valuation for tax assessment of their several properties for 1855, and each of the claimants gave their notes to Northam and Whitmore for four per cent more, payable either when the claim was finally defeated, or when those gentlemen could tender to each of the note givers the deed of Limantour to his property. Accordingly, the contractors went to work, on the theory of course that the claim was a fraud. They finally proved this by applying the microscope to the seal of the Limantour Grant, whereby they discovered that the seal was a clumsy forgery. The signatures were in like manner proved to be spurious, when of course the game was up for the claimant. Limantour escaped by forfeiting his bail bonds after arrest for forgery. Wilson got away with \$100,000 or more, which he had received as Limantour's attorney for deeds, quieting title to persons not employing Northam and Whitmore, and he returned east to die in New Hampshire; for he was a very old man when he embarked on this disgraceful venture. Northam and Whitmore then employed me to make out the deeds of the Limantour title to their friends and to collect the four per cent on the outstanding notes. I did the work and did it well, and thus closed up the business and ended the fourteen months of my present struggle with poverty.

During all that time I borrowed no money, asked no favors of anyone, yet paid all my bills without discount or delay. Besides the employments I have mentioned, I surveyed lands, tuned pianos, and did odd jobs at anything that turned up.

I had no opportunity to resume my chosen profession until the close of my conveyancing engagement. But of this in the next chapter.

XII

During all this time I had sought other business than insurance, for I felt it worse than useless to work up custom for offices in which I could get no permanent foothold and which were unwilling to pay more than five per cent commission for the disagreeable work of canvassing. (This rate is now twenty per cent and has not been less than fifteen per cent for many years.) But an offer was now made me which I accepted.

Edward McLean, a native of New Haven and a so-called graduate of Yale College (though I never could recognize any of the marks of college breeding about him), had some seven months before returned from Hartford with a new wife and the full agencies of the Old Hartford, Phoenix and Merchants Fire Insurance Company of Hartford, and the Quaker City of Philadelphia, which was both a fire and marine company. Being totally ignorant of every detail of the business, he got a few risks but made awful work of attempting to write them up; so he took into partnership John Fowler, a recently discharged freight clerk in Wells, Fargo & Company's

Express office, where he had been employed for several years. He was an efficient office man, a good clerk and bookkeeper and a good talker, but a man of inordinate conceit and haughty overbearing manner. It was for insulting the customers of the express company that he had been discharged. His wife, recently deceased, had sung a harsh alto in one of my choirs, and through her I had known him for some time. Fowler was a born Englishman, then about forty years old, and in early life had been seven years a clerk in a fire insurance office in Rochester, New York. But he knew nothing about marine insurance, was too proud to canvass for business, and though he secured his own interests by having all McLean's commissions canceled and new ones issued to McLean & Fowler, their united efforts had resulted in the collection of only \$5,000 premiums in six months. The commission whereon at ten per cent barely paid office expenses.

At this juncture Fowler offered me seven and a half per cent commission if I would act as their broker. As they were not members of the board of underwriters, I was free to underbid board rates and also to offer insurance on many classes of risks, which the English companies and Mr. Hunt's agencies (now well established) would not do. Success under these conditions required only industry. My first month's commissions reached \$150 while McLean and Fowler, having procured no other business, pocketed only the two and a half per cent on my risks between them, or \$50 for both!

Of course that sort of division could not last. They, therefore, begged me at first to take a third interest in the firm, promising me a permanent business, for which my soul so ardently longed that I accepted the proposition, which they then cut down to $\frac{3}{10}$; but they declined to have my name inserted in the commissions or used in the advertisements, or to give me written articles of partnership. There was thus no privity between me and the companies, who treated me merely as the clerk of their agents; and as I had no written articles of partnership, I was liable to be turned out at the first quarrel. However, being myself honest, I never in those days doubted the honesty of others until too late. I believed McLean and Fowler would deal by me as fairly as I intended to do by them, so I went to work with a will and with splendid results, though with poor security to myself for the ultimate rewards of my efforts.

I commenced business with them October 1, 1858. Our first month's premiums were \$5,000, or as much as they had done in six months before I joined them. In November they reached \$7,500, and so on by steady gains till March 1859, when they attained \$12,000. We then commenced marine business for the Quaker City, and this was entirely my work, for I was at home among the shipping, about which neither of my partners knew anything at all. As this was the only marine office on the coast, I raked in the premiums with but moderate effort. They soon reached \$10,000 per month, nearly all profit for a while; our office occupied two small rooms in the

second story of the brick building on the northeast corner of Battery and Clay streets at a rent of \$40 per month. We had one clerk, Charles A. Vedder, now a land lawyer in Washington, D. C., to whom we paid \$75 and afterwards \$100 per month. He was a most excellent and faithful clerk and has continued my grateful friend ever since.

After six months of this encouraging success, Fowler's ambition began to expand with what it fed on, the feed being almost wholly supplied by me. Nothing would now do but more companies, larger facilities and a bigger business than ever. So he started east to solicit agencies. I begged him before he went to apply for first class companies, such as would add credit to our firm, and to be sure and not load us up with small concerns not known in California and of doubtful solvency, this only multiplying our labors without benefiting our standing. However, he disregarded my advice; perhaps he could not follow it. He got us the Washington, Great Western, and Neptune of Philadelphia, all wild cats. He failed to find out that the Quaker City was a first class fraud. He got the Guudhue, Corn Exchange, Metropolitan, Columbian and Anchor of New York, all small concerns long since extinct. The last two were marine companies and both failed within a year or two. He also procured the City Fire and Connecticut of Hartford, and the United States Life Insurance Company, and brought out a conceited dude of an Englishman who had been clerk to Satterthwaite Brothers, marine adjusters, in New York, to whom he promised \$1,800 per year with half the fees he was to make in adjusting marine losses in competition with the famous Thomas N. Cazneau, who for ten years held a complete monopoly of that intricate profession in San Francisco. The result was, Wylly, our man, did not get a single general average case during the first year, and in the few particular average cases he attempted to adjust, he showed that he knew nothing whatever about the business. As he was otherwise useless in the office, the \$1,800 was thrown away.

Fowler was absent eight months on the trip, of course charging his heavy traveling expenses to the firm. He spent at least half his time in Europe having a good frolic at our, principally my, expense; for McLean, who essentially was a small man, was at home only in a small business. He would run his legs off for a \$10 premium but was frightened away if the sum was \$1,000. So I worked hard all day, especially in the marine department, where I was monarch of the field; and at night wrote letters, figured on accounts, and made up the monthly budgets of all the companies. I was the life and soul of the concern. I made all the marine surveys myself and for a while published them. I adjusted all the fire losses, traveled through the northern part of the state and established sixteen agencies in the principal places, many of whose incumbents remained in the business all their lives and made their mark upon it. I worked from 8 A. M. to 10 and 11 P. M. almost every day, continuing my organ playing on Sundays. Yet, owing to the low rate

of commission, only ten per cent (or three per cent to me), and to Fowler's extravagance, I could make but little more than a living. In fact, during the two years I was with them, I only succeeded in paying my expenses, in remitting my father several hundred dollars for Dita's board and clothing, and in paying the traveling expenses of my family on their second trip east and back, and in buying a lot on Rincon Place at \$1,500 for a home.

No sooner had Fowler returned, full of importance and conceit, and found the firm so prosperous, all owing, as he believed, to his reputation and not to my work, than he started back again, this time to bring out another wife. His second absence occupied six months more. When he finally settled down, my troubles began.

His first move was to hire the whole upper floor of the building and throw it into one room, increasing our rent charge from \$40 to \$150 per month. His next was to hire six more clerks at \$100 per month instead of \$200. (We had two while he was away.) The consequence was, we had no income for ourselves at all for two months after his return. His next effort was to get rid of me! and the scheme, which those two worthies had intended from the first, now became apparent. By refusing me written articles of partnership and my name in the commissions, they had designed to have me always in their power, so that when I had rustled around and built up a business for them and in their names, they could at once discharge me and themselves pocket the permanent avails of my labor. So I was insulted time and again by Fowler and finally informed that they could hire six clerks for what my share of the commissions amounted to and that my room was now preferred to my company. I replied, "Fowler, you can hire six pairs of legs and arms for what my share amounts to, but no such sum can hire my brain. Before a year rolls around, you will be worse off than I by the change." And so I settled up and left them to their own devices, which, with the mistake Fowler had made in loading the agency with insolvent companies, coupled with his becoming intemperate and the recklessness of his unchecked management, burst up the concern, destroyed the business and drove them both out of insurance in eighteen months after I left them!

But meantime they hired three new men to fill my place. To Richard S. Haven, who was a younger brother of Joshua P. Haven and a good underwriter when sober (which was seldom the case), they paid \$300 per month; to Captain Lovett as marine surveyor they paid \$200 per month; to Henry P. Coon, ex-mayor of San Francisco and a rich man, they gave \$5,000 per year and one-third of the profits (if any), besides warranting him (in writing) free of any liability for losses. Here was \$11,000 per year incurred in salaries to replace the work I had been doing for \$5,000 contingent! Mark the sequel.

Captain Lovett did very well but was paid twice what his services were worth. Haven took a \$20,000 risk, while drunk, on a cargo of coffee, against

particular average, that had been out 130 days from Punta Arena and had been spoken several days' sail off the port, with all her sails lost and crew dead or down with the scurvy. Of course the cargo proved all rotten and they had the whole risk to pay, besides salvage for towing the disabled vessel into port.

Coon was an active and successful canvasser, but totally inexperienced in fire insurance. Not knowing a bad risk from a good one, he made a specialty of insuring hay barns, junk shops, etc., several of which, burning almost immediately, entailed large losses on the companies.

A little steamer, called the *Salinas*, which Fowler had covered for \$15,000, got ashore at the mouth of the Salinas River. Fowler signed a salvage contract to get her off for \$5,000, which was drawn and executed by and with "McLean & Fowler" as a firm, instead of with the companies on the risk of "McLean and Fowler," agents. The salvors earned the money and claimed it on the very day that the news arrived of the simultaneous failure of the Quaker City, Neptune and Washington of Philadelphia, the three companies that were on the risk! So they had to pay the \$5,000 out of their own pockets. Moreover, a run was started on the office for the cancelation of the policies of the three companies for which they had transacted all their marine business; but as the premiums had all been shipped home monthly, they of course could not respond. Their affairs now began to run down hill faster than I had been able to drag them up; Coon got frightened and withdrew. Haven had to go when the marine companies had all disappeared. (He afterwards moved to Boston, where he reformed his habits and got up the Boston Lloyds for which he succeeded, before his death some ten years later, in losing the whole capital of \$100,000 with \$40,000 more.) The firm, becoming desperate, undertook to issue their individual policies for small marine risks, but they lost heavily on such transactions. Then they resorted to frauds on the state by using policy stamps a second time (then a form of state tax), and to cheat their companies by false and exaggerated vouchers for losses, traveling expenses, etc. This soon brought the secretaries of the Hartford, Phoenix and Merchants to San Francisco, who promptly relieved them of their agencies. All their other companies, except one, withdrew about the same time. McLean followed suit, and soon lost his little all in running a quartz mill in Nevada. Fowler, retaining only the Metropolitan of New York, was expelled from the board of fire underwriters for lying and cheating; was repeatedly picked up drunk in the streets; was deprived of this last company, the settling up of whose business here required drafts on the home office to the amount of \$20,000, and he went into the country to tend sheep!

Yet while I managed that concern it paid everybody. The three agents made \$5,000 per annum and upwards, each. No company had lost money, and all of them averaged sixty per cent profit on their premiums. But, as

in the case of my leaving the custom house, my involuntary extrusion from McLean & Fowler was a blessing in disguise. I left in time to save my reputation. My friends gave me the credit I did not deserve, of foreseeing the crash and saving my bacon before the smoke-house burned down. My connection with them was very useful to me. I became familiar with the business in all its branches. I learned a great deal from the long letters of the venerable presidents, Huntington of the Hartford and Simeon L. Loomis of the Phoenix, both veterans now long since passed away, but whose useful lives and interest in agents endeared them to many hundreds of young men, who are now in the foremost ranks of the profession. And I had made a reputation as an underwriter, which laid the foundation of my future fortunes.

XIII.

I left McLean & Fowler in the Spring of 1860. It will be remembered that I returned to San Francisco from New York in the month of January 1856. That was the year of the second Vigilance Committee, an event of the greatest importance to that city, but in which, as in that of 1851, I took no part, being absent from the scene. In 1856 I was living in Sacramento. My acquaintance, Jonathan Hunt, was always friendly to my face, but my secret and determined enemy whenever opportunity offered. In the general house cleaning of the public offices after the second Vigilance Committee, the city's charter was remodelled, old laws favoring corruption were repealed, and an honest man was sought for the office of tax collector, who would be content with the salary of \$8,000 per year and would pledge himself not to attempt to charge commissions on tax sales, or otherwise enrich himself at the expense of the people. Jonathan Hunt was nominated for that office, took the pledge and was elected for two years, then re-elected for two more. Suffice to say that on the expiration of his second term he refused to surrender his office to his successor; held on to the books, was ousted by mandamus, kept \$100,000 of the people's money under pretense that some old law allowing the tax collector 5 per cent on delinquent tax sales of property had not been legally repealed; invested the money on a rising real estate market, fought the case for years in all the courts, got finally beaten and had to return the money; but saved \$100,000 out of its use while the litigation lasted. And this was the man the people delighted to honor! More of him by and by.

However, my interests were only incidentally affected by this stage of his career. When he had so meanly disappointed me in the partnership matter before alluded to, he went on and established quite a business in insurance, though probably not a third of what it would have been, had I worked with him, as I afterwards did for Fowler & McLean. But when he became tax collector, he resigned his companies, having a better thing in politics, and they passed into the hands of George J. Lambert, a step-son of a prominent director in the Home Insurance Company of New York. Old Lambert was

himself a fraud, and had two hopeful sons of his own: Daniel, who undertook afterwards to realize \$20,000 by an incendiary fire at the expense of the Home and other companies and went to state prison for his pains; and James, who was such a drunkard and roué that his father got these agencies for George, on condition that he should keep James in California away from his family. George was, however, no business man. He was a pugilist, having been the friend and pupil of T. Belcher Kay, a professor of the manly art who had been banished by the Vigilance Committee for ballot-box stuffing, etc. He was moreover a man of sour temper, envious, malicious and foul-mouthed. But he had six first-class companies, and as he knew what I had done in building up business he at once offered me an interest in his agencies and a desk in his office. I remained in that uncongenial connection only six months, using it but as a makeshift. My pay did not exceed \$150 per month. He was disappointed at my refusal to retaliate on McLean & Fowler by taking away their renewals for his benefit, and I soon got very sick of his continual growling and of his brother's sprees and neglect of duty. So we separated, and for six or eight months I was again on short commons, dependent on my organ, a singing school, teaching Latin to an evening class, piano tuning, and coal weighing for the meager support of my family.

Meantime I had built another house. I had saved the money in 1860 to buy a lot, 50 x 112½ feet, on Rincon Place between Harrison and Bryant streets. I borrowed from the Savings and Loan Society \$2,000 with which to build the house and we moved in for a few months only, for we had to let the house in order to get money enough to pay interest and live on.

Some curious incidents were connected with the building and letting of this house (which was No. 30 Rincon Place). When I bought the lot there were no obstructions to the fine southeasterly view of the Bay. But as I began to build, the huge St. Mary's Hospital commenced to rear its four story walls half a block below and its "dead house" was soon afterwards erected right opposite my front door. Moreover, several hundred hogs were kept, in the lot adjoining me to windward, by A. H. Houston, the wealthy and popular contractor for the San Jose Railroad.⁷³ This was contrary to city ordinance, yet I was forced into a controversy with him about the nuisance which the police finally compelled him to abate; but meanwhile my house was almost *untenantable* by reason of fleas, hog music and stench. My wife had now all her children with her, having recently returned from her second visit East, bringing Dita home; and about half her time and Dita's was spent in stripping themselves and the two little girls, in hunting for fleas!

About the time the hog nuisance abated, appeared the since-famous (rebel) Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston, looking for a home. He had been appointed by the traitor Floyd,⁷⁴ then secretary of war, at the fag end of Buchanan's presidency, as General of the Pacific Department. The rebel

plan was believed to have been the surrender of all the Federal posts and war material on the coast by this commander, who was a secessive sympathizer, to the Southerners here, who were expected to organize and demand possession, as was done in Galveston and other places South on the adoption of the Montgomery Constitution. This plan, if such existed, was defeated by the promptness of President Lincoln in despatching General Sumner to supersede General Johnston, without notice to the latter of the intended change.

However, on Johnston's arrival in January 1861, he hired my house, furnished as it was, at \$1,200 for one year, payable monthly in advance. The lease was to terminate before the lapse of the year, "in case he were ordered elsewhere by the U. S. Government." We moved out, he moved in. On Sumner's arrival he was ordered to Washington, but instead of going, threw up his commission. He came to me complaining of the injustice with which he had been treated, protesting that his sense of honor compelled him to resign under such circumstances, that by resigning he had forfeited his salary which was his only means of living, and therefore he could not any longer pay the rent. He also with tears in his eyes begged me to give him a clerkship or get him employment! Of course I canceled the lease. It was well that I did, for repairs at the end of the year would have cost me about all the rent. In the four months of his tenancy the damages by carelessness, dirt, neglect and negro servants cost me \$150 out of the \$400 I received.

As all the world knows, he immediately crossed the plains to the Mississippi Valley and was killed while in command of the rebel forces at the battle of Pittsburg Landing. I have often thought I might have prevented or delayed his services to the Confederacy, or at least recovered my year's rent by refusing to cancel the lease and suing him for the amount. It would have been an interesting question in court, whether the mere summons to Washington, which he refused to obey, was the contingency provided for in the lease, which of course recognized the liability of a soldier to be ordered from place to place. Had I beat him in the suit, his friends would have had to raise the money if he could not, for I could have detained him. But I never was "smart" in fighting for my own interests.

During all the time I had been engaged in insurance I had contemplated the establishment of a local insurance institution in some form, which it was my ambition to promote and manage. In January 1856, before I went to Sacramento, I suggested in an article in the *Spirit of the Times* the formation of a "Title Insurance Company" to be owned and managed by the real estate lawyers of San Francisco. Titles were then, and for long after, in so unsettled a state, that high premiums would have been cheerfully paid and much money might have been made and great good accomplished by such an institution. The idea was put in practical shape in that city and in Los Angeles thirty-one years later.

While in Sacramento in 1856 and '57, I worked intermittently at my favorite scheme in fire insurance. I managed to get sixteen capitalists together at one meeting over the project, who appointed a committee to put the plan into writing. But at a subsequent meeting called to receive the report of the committee, only two men, R. H. McDonald, since president of the Pacific Bank, and C. H. Swift, afterwards mayor of Sacramento, had the courage to sign their names to the stock subscription. The obstacle in my way was the clause in the state constitution which imposes a far heavier responsibility on stockholders in all corporations than those of any other state. The people, too, knew nothing of the principle of insurance. They were used to wholesale conflagration and expected that while capital might be embarked in it by the hundred thousand, the losses would run up into the millions; which, under our laws, would be certain to ruin the stockholders. So the Sacramento scheme failed.

Again, while with McLean & Fowler, I devised a scheme on the Lloyds plan, involving the investment of \$500,000 in a trust fund (to be handled by a board of trustees), to which were to be added all profits made by the efforts of the firm as agents and managers of its fire and marine business. I talked this up considerably during Fowler's absence, but on his return he totally disapproved of it. He wanted "no townsmen and neighbors, coming every day to investigate" his business! For his part, "the further off his principals were, the better" he was suited. Anyhow his jealousy of me was at the bottom of his opposition. It soon worked me out of the firm, as before related.

My third attempt was while I was with Lambert in 1860. This was to find ten capitalists who would each take one-tenth of every marine risk that was written by their secretary, who was to sign policies as their attorney in fact. Nicholas Luning favored this plan, as did James Donahue and Capt. Geo. C. Johnston, all leading capitalists, but the ten could not be procured then.

I then tried to get up a stock marine company on Stewart Street among the lumber men and ship owners whose custom I had procured for McLean & Fowler, and who had just been largely "clinched" by the failure of their Philadelphia companies. I got about \$40,000 subscribed to this plan, but there I seemed to stick. The great lumber and shipping firm, [Andrew J.] Pope and [W. C.] Talbot, refused to take stock; but Mr. Pope said to me one day, "Hopkins, just you wait till Dr. [Samuel] Merritt gets back; he will be almost certain to take hold of that scheme, and if he does, so will we." I took that advice, as I generally did from Mr. Pope, to my advantage every time; and Merritt, arriving in the fall of 1860 after two and a half years travel in Europe, at once grasped the idea, and on the conclusion of our first interview, assured me that the company should be ready for business in three months, and I should be its secretary. Merritt's word was

always as good as his bond; so it was this time. Being himself a capitalist, and heading the subscription, other capitalists followed him, when they would not listen to an impecunious adventurer like me. So I left him to select his associates, and call the many meetings of intending stockholders, while I accepted a \$2,500 contract to make and lithograph fifty copies of the first insurance map of San Francisco ever made, for the Board of Fire Underwriters.

This work I accomplished with the aid of a boy to carry one end of my tape line, in just sixty days, including the lithography, coloring and binding of the fifty copies with seventy plates each. The plan was my own and was as follows:

Instead of a scale, I used paper ruled cross-wise at right angles, each square representing ten feet.

Material and construction of building were indicated by colors; as red for brick, gray for iron, green for plastered frames and yellow for temporary frames, sheds and barns.

Height in stories was shown by dots then . . . for one, two, or three stories. I used symbols to describe fire walls, iron shutters, skylights, etc. The underwriters were delighted with this work and had it copyrighted. Single copies sold for \$100. It was the only insurance map used until it became unserviceable owing to the changes made in rebuilding the city; and it was by and by superseded by the extensive work of the Sanborn Map Company which has been applied to all the large towns and cities of the United States.

I realized \$1,200 net from this job, which was very seasonable relief in my straitened circumstances.

Meantime the meetings for the formation of the insurance company were frequent and interesting. At one of them a committee was raised to obtain legal advice on the vexed question of the personal liability of stockholders imposed by the constitution. Now I had long before obtained an opinion from my friend Judge Brosnan,⁷⁵ to the effect that the right to pursue stockholders for the debts of a corporation, being a mere money right, could be waived by special contract between the corporation and the customers, and that this could be effected here, as well as in England, by a clause in the policies, such as was generally used by unlimited companies in that country. I offered this to the committee, but they preferred to obtain an opinion for themselves. They engaged Judge Currey, who, though he had been on the Supreme Bench, knew nothing about the subject.⁷⁶ He begged me to advise him Brosnan's opinion, which he adopted as his own, and so earned his \$50. So we surmounted the bug-bear which had hitherto frightened everybody away from insurance in California. Many companies have since been formed and some have been discontinued but this question has never yet been raised in the courts of this state against a stockholder in an insurance company.

At last, on a day in February, 1861 (the 14th, I think) the articles of incorporation of the "California Mutual Marine Insurance Company" were filed. The subscribed capital was \$200,000 in 20 shares of \$10,000 each; whereof \$1,000 was paid up, and notes were given for the remaining \$9,000. There were, therefore, just twenty stockholders; not one of them being worth less than \$100,000 and some of them \$1,000,000 or more. Their names were:

W. C. Talbot	Samuel Merritt	A. J. Pope
J. J. Felt	D. C. M'Ruer	Geo. H. Howard
H. F. Teschemacher	Wm. Norris	S. C. Bigelow
Michael Reese	Levi Stevens	Chas. Main
H. B. Tichenor	John G. Bray	Jonas G. Clark
Josiah Belden	John Van Bergen	C. W. Hathaway
James Findla	Calvin Paige	

Dr. Merritt was chosen president, and I was elected secretary at \$200 per month, entirely by Merritt's influence, for nearly all the members were then strangers to me. We undertook to do a marine business only, as not being liable on the Pacific to wholesale disaster. Our money was carefully invested at the high rates of the period at one-and-a-half to two per cent per month. We took a cheap office on the second floor of the corner of Battery and Commercial streets, and at once began a cautious and at first a slow business, mainly in our coasting trade.

I now had my first real opportunity to study accumulation in the employ of a company of the best financiers in the city. But I had many deficiencies to overcome. I had never been a secretary to a business corporation before. I knew practically nothing about keeping books, or of the principles of double entry bookkeeping. How to learn was the question. I dared not ask questions of my employers, for that would let my cat out of the bag; so I bought Jones and Marsh's works on bookkeeping, and studied them at nights, and in a few weeks had so mastered the science that I worked out a very simple and accurate method of my own; cash book and journal combined, which answered so well that it was not changed for twenty years and was copied in other offices. As expert Lincoln, who was employed to examine my books, used to say, "Hopkins, your bookkeeping is accurate and shows a mathematical education, but it is very evident you have never served in a counting-room."

XIV.

I was now fairly started in business as an underwriter. My age was thirty-five when first elected secretary of the first local company, and until my sixtieth year there was very little change in my externals. I was to suffer no more from poverty or shifting occupation. My business was steady and congenial. My salary was raised from time to time. My reputation became fixed and respectable, for whether I was secretary or president, I was always

the manager. I took good care of the company and the company took good care of me.

When I retired [1885] its assets reached \$1,000,000 and its dividends \$1,025,000, and in the hands of the efficient officers whom I trained to their business for many years, the company is [1888-'89] steadily gaining in wealth and popularity and is known all over the United States in fire and insurance and all over the world in marine.

Dr. Merritt was its first president. He resigned after eighteen months service to go East where the death of his brother, Capt. Isaac Merritt of Bath, required his presence to settle up the estate. D. C. M'Ruer was elected president in the fall of 1862, by which time the company had worked into quite a business. But in the meantime, the breaking of the ice by our company was availed of by others. Within one month of our incorporation, the required ten men were found to start the Lloyds suggested by me in the previous year, and I was invited to leave the California and its \$200 per month for the secretaryship of the Lloyds at \$400 per month. I declined the flattering offer as in honor bound, but in so doing, I threw away the subsequent presidency of the Union Insurance Company with its paid up capital of \$750,000 and its larger salary, which fell to the lot of my life long friend Gustave Touchard, who is probably thirty years my senior and still holds the place, though nearly ninety years old. (Died 1888.)

About the same time, March 1861, the San Francisco Fire Insurance Company was started with a paid up capital of \$150,000, with E. W. Burr as president (then president of the Savings and Loan Society, the first savings bank) and George C. Boardman as secretary. This company was very closely managed and highly successful. Mr. Boardman became president after a year or two and when he resigned about 1866 to take the general agency of the old Aetna, the company dissolved, dividing more than double its capital besides regular *ad interim* dividends.

Mr. M'Ruer, though an excellent business man, was unpopular, by reason of his cold and repellent manner. He therefore never attracted the crowd. Though he has subsequently filled several public offices, with the highest credit to himself and faithful service to the public, he never was appreciated by the people as he deserved to be. He owed his election entirely to my efforts, yet he treated me with such uniform coldness and distance, that I could not believe he had any more regard for me than for his horse. The only kindly expression I ever received from him was his reply to the \$1,000 testimonial and handsome letter enclosing the draft which I induced the directors to forward him in acknowledgment of his three years faithful services.

Sailing before the trade winds becomes monotonous. The one day of storm impresses the memory more than sixty days of fine uneventful weather. So the dull routine of an insurance office furnishes small store of

recollections except so far as varied by attempted frauds, lawsuits, and excessive losses. New offices, conducted by new men, have usually some experiences administered by sharp claimants; ours was no exception to the rule.

NOTES

73. There were four attempts (1850-51, 1853, 1859, and 1860) to build a railroad from San Francisco to San Jose, originally called the Pacific and Atlantic R. R. Co., as part of a larger plan which looked toward extension to the Mississippi. The fourth plan is the one referred to by Hopkins, with Charles McLaughlin and Alexander H. Houston as contractors. The road from San Francisco to San Jose was completed in January 1864. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 536-37.)

74. John B. Floyd's resignation as secretary of war was requested by Pres. James Buchanan in December 1860, because of alleged honoring of heavy drafts made by government contractors in anticipation of their earnings.

75. Hopkins' first mention of Brosnan as "Brosman," and the similar spelling in the 1854 San Francisco directory, are apparently chiro- and typographical slips, as subsequent mention by Hopkins (as here) and listings in other than the 1854 directory, etc., spell it "Brosnan." See Note 67, above.

76. John Currey, a native (1814) of Westchester Co., N. Y., and admitted to the bar there in 1842, came to San Francisco seven years later. He took office as one of the justices of the state Supreme Court on Jan. 1, 1864, for a term of four years, the last two of which he was chief justice. In 1868 he was one of three commissioners, (the other two being J. B. Harman and Henry P. Barber) appointed to revise and compile the laws of California. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 235, 249; Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California*, Los Angeles, 1901, pp. 483-485.)

77. The historical sketch of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in Colville's directory (1856), p. 245, says that it was organized May 6, 1851, and lists the six "schedules" governing commercial transactions (rates of commissions, rates of storage on merchandise, delivery of merchandise, freight payments, etc.). An earlier organization date is given by Bancroft (*op. cit.*, VII, 172, note 45), viz., May 1, 1850, and incorporation as taking place Nov. 3, 1851.

78. The *Pacific Coast Business Directory* (S. F., 1871), p. 160, mentions Alameda as one of the "termini of the various lines of railroads which run through the interior," and speaks of the steam ferries furnishing communication between the termini (Oakland and Alameda) and San Francisco. See also Frank C. Merritt, *History of Alameda County* (Chicago, 1928), I, 119, who speaks of the branch line to Mastick Station in Alameda as having been built in 1873.

79. Of the steamer *Colorado*, Wiltsee (*op. cit.*, p. 308) says that on Jan. 1, 1867, it was despatched on a pioneer voyage to Hong Kong by the Pacific Mail S. S. Co., though they were not too certain that it would be a success. A profit of some \$11,000 resulted, and thereafter more and more attention was given to the China run.

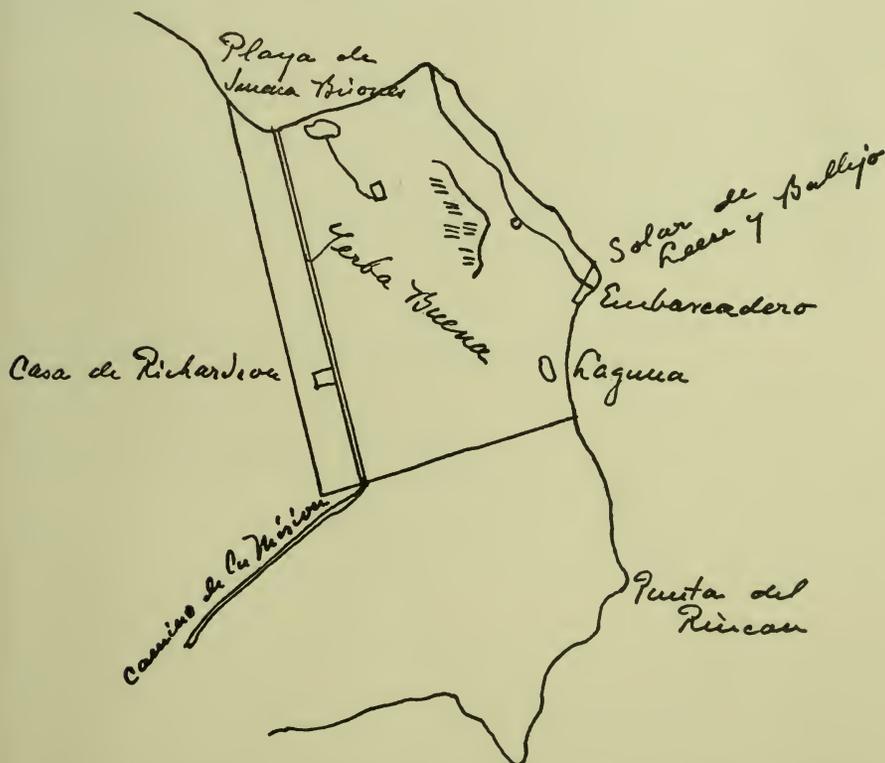
80. Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner was succeeded in command on the Pacific Coast by Brig. Gen. of Volunteers George Wright, who commanded until July 1, 1864, when he was relieved by Maj. Gen. of Volunteers Irwin McDowell. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 472.) For General Wright's connection with the New Almaden episode of 1863, see Milton H. Shutes, "Abraham Lincoln and the New Almaden Mine," this *QUARTERLY*, XV (March 1936), especially p. 11; also, for his suppression of "disloyal" newspapers during 1862, see Benj. F. Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," this *QUARTERLY*, XX (June 1941), 162.

The Third Map of Yerba Buena

By J. N. BOWMAN

AMONG the Jacob P. Leese papers formerly owned by Edwin Grabhorn of San Francisco was a small *diseño*, or map, without date, designation or identification; nor was the owner able to explain its origin, meaning or importance.

A study of a tracing of the map reveals it as a copy of the *diseño* accompanying a petition, dated May 12, 1839, of Jacob P. Leese and Salvador Vallejo to Gov. Juan B. Alvarado for two 100-vara lots at the foot of present Broadway—the old Embarcadero—for the purpose of building the first permanent wharf in the village. The expediente (or file of papers concerned therewith) in the land-grant case¹ mentions no *diseño*, either in the petition or in the *titulo* dated nine days later. It had apparently been lost, for since 1833 *diseños* were required as part of all petitions for land; they might be delayed, as Alvarado later testified, but not omitted.²



Tracing of a *diseño* of Yerba Buena, 1839. The lettering is copied, not traced.

W. A. Richardson sketched the first map of Yerba Buena at the end of May 1835, when he was at San Gabriel. It has disappeared and nothing is known of its portrayal.³ His second map was made after the first survey of Yerba Buena, late in October of the same year. The diseño considered here—the third map of the settlement—can be identified as a reduction of Richardson's second map, which it follows in showing the pueblo boundaries, the Calle de Fundación (not labeled), the trail to Mission Dolores, the Richardson house, the Embarcadero, and the laguna at the later corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets. Being smaller, it omits the topographical features and details of the larger map. And there are some differences: more of the shore line is shown; the laguna at the foot of the later Sacramento Street is absent; the west pueblo line and the Calle are both extended to the beach. The unlabeled house of Juana Briones is shown near present Washington Square, with a small stream running from its vicinity to a laguna near the beach (in the neighborhood of the intersection of present Mason and Chestnut streets), which is very probably the lake shown on the Beechey map of 1827-28.⁴ Rincon Point is labeled, as are also the bluffs northwest of the Embarcadero, together with the location of the two lots petitioned.

The southwest corner of the pueblo boundaries is not quite a right angle, and the directional arrow indicates magnetic north.

The general appearance of the diseño, showing agreement with the details of existing natural features, and especially the outline of the lots at the Embarcadero with their label of *Solar de Leese y Vallejo*, quite conclusively indicate it to be a copy or a draft of the diseño for the grant of 1839 at this Punta.

NOTES

1. Private land-grant case 421 ND, in the office of the clerk of the U. S. District Court, San Francisco.

2. *Ibid.*, 346 ND, 234 ND.

3. The late Thomas P. Burns of San Francisco was under the impression that this first sketch was the map of 1835. See "The Oldest Street in San Francisco," this *QUARTERLY*, XIII (Sept. 1934), 235 ff.

4. F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific* (London, 1831), map: Entrance of San Francisco Harbour.

CORRECTION to June 1947 *QUARTERLY*:

The captions as given for plates IVa and IVb, following page 126, should be transposed.

As announced on page 183 of the June 1947 QUARTERLY, the sections entitled *Californiana*, *Gifts Received by the Society*, etc., omitted at that time, appear below. It has been necessary, however (again because of space limitations), to amend the period covered to "July 31st" instead of "August 31st."

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

- [RANCHO BUENA VISTA], pub.
The Count Found a Valley. [Sonoma, Rancho Buena Vista, 1947.] 12 pp. illus.
- BARRY, T. A. and PATTEN, B. A.
San Francisco, California, 1850; foreword by Jos. A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1947. 178 pp. \$15.00.
- BEALS, FRANK L.
The Rush for Gold. Chicago, Wheeler Publishing Company [1946]. 251 pp. illus. \$1.75.
- BURNETT, PETER H.
An Old California Pioneer; foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1946. iv + 287 pp. maps. \$15.00.
- CHILD, ANDREW
Overland Route to California; introduction by Lyle H. Wright. Los Angeles, N. A. Kovach, 1946. iv + 60 pp. illus. \$3.00.
- CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS
California in Our Time (1900-1940). New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. viii + 320 pp. illus. \$4.00.
- CONMY, PETER THOMAS
The Date of the Founding of San Francisco. Oakland, Oakland Public Library, 1947. 23 pp.
- DE QUILLE, DAN (WILLIAM WRIGHT)
The Big Bonanza, an Authentic Account of the Discovery, History, and Working of the World-Renowned Comstock Lode of Nevada; introduction by Oscar Lewis. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. xli + 439 pp. illus. \$5.00.
- DRURY, AUBREY
California, an Intimate Guide. Rev. ed. New York and London, Harper & Brothers [1947]. xvi + 592 pp. illus. \$4.00.
- DUKE, VETTELENE (WILLIAMS)
The South Fork Valley and Other Stories. Monterey, Press of W. T. Lee Co., 1946. 71 pp. illus.
- GENTHE, ARNOLD
Old Chinatown; a Photographic Calendar for the year 1946. Oakland, Mills College [1946]. [53] pp. illus.
- GERSTACKER, FRIEDRICH WILHELM CHRISTIAN
California Gold Mines; foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1946. xiv + 149 pp. illus. \$8.50.
- HAZARD, JOSEPH T.
Pacific Crest Trails from Alaska to Cape Horn. Seattle, Wash., Superior Publishing Company [1946]. 317 pp. illus. \$3.00.
- HEIZER, ROBERT F.
Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1947. [47] pp. illus. \$2.00.

HINCKLEY, EDITH PARKER

Frank Hinckley, California Engineer and Rancher, 1838-1890. Claremont, Saunders Press, 1946. xvii + 149 pp. illus. \$3.50.

JACKSON, JOSEPH HENRY, *Editor*

San Francisco Murders. New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce [1947]. 314 pp. \$3.00.

JONES, IDWAL

Vermilion. New York, Prentice-Hall Inc. [1947]. 495 pp. \$3.00.

KAHN, EDGAR M.

Tamalpais, Enchanted Mountain. [San Francisco] Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, 1946. 63 pp. illus.

LEVY, HARRIET LANE

920 O'Farrell St. Garden City, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947. 273 pp. illus. \$2.50.

LEWIS, JAMES, *Editor*

Doorway to Good Living, Selected Places Where to Eat and Where to Stay, Where to Fish and Where to Play Along the Pacific Slope of the Western Wonderland. Beverly Hills, Lewis Publicity Service [1947]. illus. \$2.50.

LEWIS, OSCAR

San Francisco Since 1872, a Pictorial History of Seven Decades; with Photographs and Poems from the Collection of Milton S. Ray. San Francisco [Ray Oil Burner Co.], 1946. xii + 101 pp. illus. \$3.75.

LORD, MYRTLE SHAW

A Sacramento Saga; Fifty Years of Achievement—Chamber of Commerce Leadership. Sacramento, Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, 1946. xiii + 414 pp. illus.

MACK, EFFIE MONA

Mark Twain in Nevada. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. xiv + 398 pp. illus. \$5.00.

MARBERRY, M. M.

The Golden Voice; a Biography of Isaac Kalloch. New York, Farrar, Straus & Company, 1947. x + 376 pp. \$4.00.

McGOWAN, EDWARD

McGowan vs. California Vigilantes; foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1946. ix + 205 pp. illus.

McLEOD, ALEXANDER

Pigtails and Gold Dust. Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1947. 326 pp. illus. \$5.00.

MUNZ, PHILIP A.

A Short History of the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, 1947. Anaheim, Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden of the Native Plants of California, 1947. 31 pp. illus.

PARKER, FRANK

Anatomy of the San Francisco Cable Car. Stanford University, James Ladd Delkin [1946]. 63 pp. illus. \$2.00.

PAUL, RODMAN W.

California Gold; the Beginning of Mining in the Far West. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947. xvi + 380 pp. illus. \$4.50.

PÉREZ ROSALES, VICENTE

California Adventure; translated from the original Spanish with an introduction by Edwin S. Morby and Arturo Torres-Rioseco from the 19th Century Chilean Classic Recuerdos del Pasado. San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1947. xiv + 96 pp. illus.

RICE, CRAIG, *Editor*

Los Angeles Murders. New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc. [1947]. 249 pp. \$3.00.

RICE, WILLIAM B.

The Los Angeles Star, 1851-1864; edited by John Walton Caughey. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1947. xvi + 315 pp. \$5.00.

ROBINSON, ALFRED

Life in California; an Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians of Alta California; foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1947. illus. \$15.00.

ROBINSON, W. W.

Whittier: A Calendar of the Events in the Making of a City. Los Angeles, Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1947. 15 pp. illus.

ROWLAND, LEON

Annals of Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz [Branson Publishing Company], 1947. 155 pp. illus.

[RYDER, DAVID WARREN]

The Story of Sherman Clay and Company, 1870-1947. [San Francisco, Neal, Stratford & Kerr, 1947.] 54 pp. illus.

SANDELS, G. M. WASEURTZ AF

A Sojourn in California by The King's Orphan, the Travels and Sketches of G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels, a Swedish Gentleman who Visited California in 1842-1843; edited with an introduction by Helen Putnam Van Sicklen. San Francisco, printed at the Grabhorn Press for the Book Club of California in arrangement with the Society of California Pioneers, 1946. x + 85 pp. illus.

SOUTHWORTH, JOHN REGINALD

Viva Santa Barbara. [Santa Barbara, 1946.] 52 pp. illus.

SUTTER'S FORT HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Sutter's Fort Historical Museum. Sacramento, Bureau of Printing, Documents Division, n.d. 48 pp. illus. \$0.25.

THOMAS, SISTER MARY, O. P.

Apostle of the Valley; the Life of Daniel Francis Dade, Pioneer Priest of the San Joaquin Valley. Fresno, the Academy of California Church History, 1947. 137 pp. illus. \$3.00.

TROLLOPE, ANTHONY

A Letter from Anthony Trollope Describing a Visit to California in 1875. San Francisco, The Colt Press, 1946. viii + 32 pp. illus. \$3.00.

UDELL, JOHN

John Udell Journal Kept During a Trip Across the Plains Containing an Account of the Massacre of a Portion of his Party by the Mojave Indians in 1859; introduction by Lyle H. Wright. Los Angeles, N. A. Kovach, 1946. xvii + 87 pp. illus. \$3.00.

WALKER, ARDIS M.

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News of the Society

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March 1, 1947 to July 31, 1947

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MISCELLANEOUS

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The preceding issue of the QUARTERLY (June 1947) met with such commendation on the part of its readers that the editors feel it fitting to add to the above list of donors the name of the Hon. Joseph R. Knowland. Through his generous aid the Society was able to undertake the expense of fully illustrating the "California Gold Discovery Papers" published in that issue.

Meetings

On March 13, 1947, at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, Mr. J. E. Carpenter, director of the travel and recreation department of the State Chamber of Commerce, gave a clear account of the intricacies of his and his associates' work in preparing plans for the centennial celebrations—Gold Discovery, Gold Rush, and Statehood. Before the end of World War II was in sight, these persons had gone ahead with their ideas for holding the celebrations, in much the same way that the emigrants of 1849-50 took the east declivity of the Sierra in their stride, confident that there was an attainable, Pacific-facing slope. This is not an overstatement. Let no modern, conscious at all of the cross-currents that engulf us, say that it is easy to achieve enough tranquility of mind and detachment to prepare a program of such scope. But detachment is the only thing that can make the final decision, as to what is or is not fitting, carry any weight whatever.

Mr. Carpenter outlined the points brought up at the different meetings attended by representatives of the local, etc., groups and interests, "energizing meetings," where something like this might have been said to those present: By the normal and orderly passage of time, it is now a hundred years since these often heroic, often picturesque, but un-normal ("Rush") events occurred in Alta California. A hundred years is a long time, but the speakers assured their hearers that the plans which were being made would bring the events to life as if they had taken place yesterday, and in such a way that each would have its rightful importance and not let the thread be lost—the thread leading to statehood and an orderly, normal existence. Certainly it is an enormous task, with uncountable ramifications.

The following are some of the important committees organized by Mr. Carpenter and his co-workers: local, county, regional, and statewide committees; committees representing schools, churches, Native Sons, and all other historically interested groups; 100-year-old business firms; transportation, oil, and other concerns; and groups interested in travel. Then Mr. Carpenter methodically gave the roll call of the bills introduced into the legislature to implement the plans, together with the estimated costs of the different items. Since the date of his report, bills creating a commission, and carrying a \$250,000 appropriation, have been passed and signed.

An important lecture—"Frank Norris, San Francisco's Zola"—from the standpoint of the growth of artistic ideas in California, was given at the luncheon meeting on April 10th by Dr. Franklin D. Walker of Mills College. Dr. Walker is the author of *Frank Norris: a Biography* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932). The reading of his book is a pleasant and informing experience and should not be missed; and as the volume is accessible in libraries and bookstores, to review his address, except in a brief, extraneous kind of way,

seems hardly necessary. The comparison between Émile Zola (1840-1902) and Norris (1870-1902) brought to one listener's mind, at least, the plausibility of Norris and Zola, at the time they were writing, switching locales—Zola to take the hard drinker, McTeague, and his landmarks on the Polk Street of 1897 (Heise's harness shop, Joe Frenna's corner grocery with a back-room saloon, McTeague's own "Parlors," his canary and accordion, not to mention Trina McTeague and her precious savings); and Norris, the situation in *L'Assommoir*, a French epic of drink, written some twenty years earlier. This raises the question of the literary "school" to which they are said to have belonged. They are called realists, or, in less crude implication, naturalists. Though at the outset the terms realism, naturalism, idealism, romanticism, seem irreconcilable, and rather puzzling, they can be found to overlap, for the mere reason that writers are, themselves, human beings. Norris explains this in his "A Plea for Romantic Fiction" in the collection of essays, issued posthumously, *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (New York, 1903), where he says of Zola (p. 215) that he has been dubbed a realist, "but he is, on the contrary, the very head of the Romanticists." And Norris continues: ". . . Realism stultifies itself. It notes only the surface of things. . . . Realism is very excellent so far as it goes, but it goes no further than the Realist himself can actually see or actually hear. Realism is minute. . . ." And on page 220: "But to Romance belongs the wide world for range, and the unplumbed depths of the human heart. . . ." Both men felt it in them to write of the lower elements in human nature (sometimes too low for credibility); to many people this made them "realists" in the sordid sense only. But what of such a passage as this in the *Octopus* (New York, 1901), where Norris is describing the coming of evening: ". . . the small clamour of the day lapsing into quiet, the great, still twilight building itself, dome-like, toward the zenith. . . ." Realistic, yes—and *real*.

Dr. Walker mentioned Norris' versatility in respect to the arts; for example, as a student at the San Francisco Art Association's school of design. Best of all he liked to sketch cavalry horses at the Presidio—their legs and hoofs in motion; and then he wanted to *write* that motion so that the sketches and writing were wed. Between 1890 and 1894 he went to the University of California as a special student, where his interest in Zola, Zola who knew how to describe crowds in motion as could no one else, made the study of mathematics tiresome, and he failed. Perhaps if he had been taught certain formulae for velocity as expressions, say, of a horse in motion, he would have loved it, instead. Pedagogy seeking revelation at the crib of art.

As one listened to the speaker and thought of Frank Norris' creative accomplishments, of his life here in San Francisco, and his connection with the prominent writers and the journals of his time, an accounting of how

much growth has occurred in our literary ideas and their formulation since then, suggested itself.

Mr. E. R. Wyeth of Brisbane, a graduate student in education at the University of California, entertained (literally) the Society and its guests at the luncheon meeting on May 8. Probably the first link between California and Australia—their early connection being his subject—was made by the French explorer Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, leader of a scientific expedition sent out by the French government. He was received graciously at Monterey in 1786 and somewhat suspiciously two years later by the newly arrived original colonists in New South Wales. Next, England's interest in finding an eastward passage to the Great Lakes, among other objects, brought George Vancouver (who had spent some time surveying the southwest coast of Australia in 1791) to the western coast of North America in 1792. In 1800, as a result of Spain's alliance with Napoleon against England, the Spanish ship *El Plumier* was captured off the coast of California by three Australian whalers.

It was not until the discovery of gold in California, Mr. Wyeth said, that the links took definite shape. Both desirable and undesirable elements of the several Australian colonies hurried as rapidly as they could to win their fortunes in the gold fields. It was the undesirable type, however, that provided the most picturesque, if unwanted, addition to California's population in the early 1850's. The story of the "Sydney Ducks" with their notorious members, "English Jim" Stuart, Sam Whittaker, Mrs. Mary Ann Hogan and scores of others, is part of the records of San Francisco's Vigilante Committee of 1851.

Among the respectable miners was one who knew something of the country west of Sydney. Edmund Hargreaves had left New South Wales to make his fortune in California. More important than his moderate success at Jamestown and on the Yuba River was his recognition of the resemblance of the terrain he had left to the gold bearing country of California. He returned to Sydney in January 1851, determined to test a "hunch" that gold could be found in New South Wales. Hargreaves' success a month later led, along with other discoveries in Victoria soon after, to a flood of immigrants both desirable and undesirable—many from California. At this safe distance in point of time, the dumping and undumping of odd-moraled persons, as between Australia and California, was viewed with glee by Mr. Wyeth's audience.

For both areas, gold meant wealth, population, lawlessness, and, later, the establishment of democratic government. In the progress of both, the precious metal meant a tremendous development, the effects of which were felt long after the mines were worked out.

The forging of another link took place during the early 1860's. The

Civil War meant the cessation of cotton growing in the South and with it came a demand from the North for new sources of supplies. These years saw Australia's cotton industry experiencing a boom; while Californians fought to end slavery in the southern cotton fields of the United States, Mr. Wyeth pointed out, Australian farmers grew cotton and prospered.

In 1885, on one of the trading vessels that had established irregular service between California and Australia, was Alfred Deakin, the young premier of Victoria. He had come to California—as many have done since—to find a solution of an Australian problem in this country. He found his solution down near the Mojave Desert where two Canadians, George and Ben Chaffey, had made the desert bloom at Etiwanda and Ontario, by irrigation. Deakin was seeking to turn the drier parts of northwest Victoria into a productive area and the Chaffeys agreed to help. The story was one of struggle against hardship and obstacles and, for the Chaffeys, loss and disappointment; but the project to harness the waters of the Murray River succeeded so well that today thousands of productive farms in Victoria and South Australia flourish in the former wasteland. Australian industry owes a great debt to the courage and tenacity of Deakin and the Chaffeys and to the California example.

To the pleasure of his listeners, Mr. Wyeth was inclined to think that no Australian traveling through California could fail to feel at home in a countryside so freely marked by acacias and eucalyptus. These two trees, in fact, through the publicizing efforts of Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, director (1857-73) of the Botanic Gardens in Melbourne, form one of the oldest links between the countries.

The stress of present events, the ravages of war, increasing trade, giant airplanes following the trail marked by Kinsford Smith, the exchange of elements of culture, the interchange of personnel, all, in the opinion of the speaker, serve now to strengthen ties early formed between peoples who, fundamentally, are striving toward similar ideals.

At the June 12th luncheon meeting of the Society, Mr. Charles Corwin White, chairman of the Napa County Centennials Committee and executive vice-president of the Sonoma County Tax Payers' Association, spoke on "California's Place in the Tapestry of History." In separating six forces from the many which had worked toward freedom in the world, Mr. White listed commerce, invention, discovery, settlement, the Renaissance, and the Reformation; and explained how the foregoing had set in motion contributing forces which gave direction to the slow process of understanding among men and their spiritual expansion. Among these contributing forces Mr. White named the enriching of the economy of Spain, Portugal, and England by the charting of new sea lanes, the strengthened economy of these countries enabling serfs to be paid in money for their labor, thus

putting them in a position to buy from their masters the freedom which their ancestors had lost; the advent of the printing press with its wider dissemination of knowledge; and, lastly, the rise of the desire to shake off the political and other fetters of the old world. Then began the great westward migrations. The fact that between 1542 (Cabrillo's arrival) and the hoisting of the flag of the United States at Monterey on July 7, 1846—a period approximating 300 years—California was under the flags of six nations, counting the Mexican Empire and the Mexican Republic as one nation, was cited by the speaker as having added greatly to the breadth and tolerance of her vision. The climate and the richness of the land attracted hundreds; the discovery of gold drew thousands. In conclusion, Mr. White said: "In 1849, these men whose ancestors had fought and bought and bartered their way out of feudalism, called a constitutional convention and demanded admission to the Union as the Free State of California. There was to be no slavery in California. These men stopped, in the midst of all the busy selfishness of their gold seeking, and even for the members of another race and color demanded Freedom!"

In Memoriam

WILLIAM LEWIS GERSTLE

William Lewis Gerstle died in San Francisco on August 6, 1947 at the age of 79. He was the son of Lewis and Hannah Gerstle, who came to California in the early days of the state. Lewis Gerstle was one of the founders and subsequently the president of the Alaska Commercial Company which, as lessee of the government, carried on extensive sealing operations in Alaskan waters and was one of the important factors in the early development of that territory.

After finishing his schooling, the younger Gerstle entered into the employ of the Alaska Commercial Company and ultimately succeeded his father as its president. At that time he was also a director of the Alaska Salmon Company. His duties in these capacities took him frequently to Alaska and he was familiar with and traveled extensively in that territory long before the gold rush of 1898 to the Klondike.

Mr. Gerstle did not confine his activities to a strictly business career. As president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and as head of the Citizen's Alliance he took a very active part in civic affairs. However, the interest which was probably nearest to his heart was in art and artists.

For many years he was president of the San Francisco Art Association and accomplished much to enlarge the artistic growth of this community. No mean painter in his own right, his generosity to struggling young artists was proverbial and many who later achieved success owe it to the material

aid and encouragement they received from him. He not only donated to the San Francisco Art Association a fine mural which he commissioned the famous Mexican painter, Diego Rivera, to execute but also a fund of \$25,000 with which to purchase the works of rising local painters. He moved widely in the artistic circles of San Francisco and was never happier than when he was with his Bohemian friends.

On the outbreak of World War I, Mr. Gerstle joined the Red Cross Mission which was sent by this country to France, and in recognition of his fine service the French government awarded him the Medal of Honor and the Legion of Honor.

At the time of his death he was president of the Manhattan Gold Dredging Company and a director of Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.

For the great part of his life Will Gerstle was a lover of the out-of-doors and was an ardent hunter and fisherman. In his quiet, unostentatious way, he was a powerful influence for good in his native city and state.

He is survived by his widow, Sara Hecht Gerstle, a daughter, Miriam Wornum of London, and three grandchildren.

SIDNEY M. EHRMAN

WESTON H. SETTLEMIER

Weston H. Settlemier, for the past twelve years associated with the advertising firm of Brisacher, Van Norden and Staff, died in San Francisco on August 26 in the prime of his life.

He was born in Dawson, Yukon Territory, Canada, on August 14, 1901. Both of his parents, Charles and Augusta Carnahan Settlemier, were descendants of early Californians and had, themselves, kept alive the family's interest in frontiers by joining the gold rush to the Yukon in the middle 1890's. Their son Weston received his education, first, at his birthplace, Dawson; then at Berkeley, graduating from the University of California in 1922; and lastly at Boston, where, two years later, he completed the requirements for the master's degree at the Harvard School of Business Administration. He continued his scholarly attitude of mind, however, in his travels abroad and in his study of coins. The latter, Mr. Settlemier went about in the most thorough fashion by associating himself with others, like-minded, in representative numismatic societies, and in independent historical research on the subject.

His concern for the welfare of the community included the schools; for two terms as president of the Public Education Society of San Francisco he worked devotedly for their improvement. In religious matters his office as second reader in the Sixth Church of Christ Scientist in San Francisco enabled him to share this admiration and pursuit of spiritual things in another and more direct way.

Mr. Settlemier is survived by his wife, Mary Louise and two sons, Grant Allan and Brook Reed Settlemier.

EDGAR M. KAHN

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Patron</i>	
Mrs. Walter Schilling	San Francisco	Continuing Dr. Schilling's membership
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
Mrs. Irving Berlin	New York	Membership Committee
Mrs. E. Geoffrey Montgomery	Burlingame	Membership Committee
W. T. Sesnon, Jr.	Beverly Hills	Membership Committee
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. Merritt Adamson	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Gen. H. H. Arnold	Sonoma	Membership Committee
Kennan H. Beard	Modesto	Lawton R. Kennedy
L. E. Behymer	Los Angeles	Alex. S. Haas
E. Manchester Boddy	La Canada	Membership Committee
Paul Edward Bollier	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Miss Louise A. Boyd	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Mrs. William C. Bricca	San Rafael	Membership Committee
Roger Chickering	Oakland	Allen L. Chickering, Jr.
Frank A. Clarvoe	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Cornell University Library	Ithaca, N. Y.	Membership Committee
Owen C. Coy	Los Angeles	Resuming membership
James R. Dalziel	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Francis H. Davis	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Hon. Preston Devine	San Francisco	Albert Shumate, M.D.
R. Stanley Dollar	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Camille Johnston Ehrenfels	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Everett E. Farwell	Alameda	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Miss Anita Gallegos	Mission San Jose	Membership Committee
Herbert E. Hall	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Dudley Heron	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Franklin D. Howell	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Fred N. Howser	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Rockwell D. Hunt	Los Angeles	Hensley S. Davis
John F. Kelly	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Kern Co. Union High School	Bakersfield	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Loyola University Students' Library	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Malcolm MacNeil	San Francisco	Joseph A. Sullivan
Miss Rhoda C. McRae	Berkeley	R. R. Stuart
Miss Miriam Miller	Oklahoma City	Honor Award—Mills College
Leo Mund	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Wallace S. Myers	San Anselmo	Warren R. Howell
Robert E. Newton, D.D.S.	San Francisco	Raoul H. Blanquie, D.D.S.
Paul Paine	Corona del Mar	J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
Hubert J. Peter	Napa	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Mrs. Frank H. Pierce	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Hallock F. Raup	Kent, Ohio	Henry R. Wagner
T. J. Ready, Jr.	Concord	Membership Committee
Mrs. Willoughby Rodman	Los Angeles	Membership Committee

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. Evelyn Dierssen Ross	Sacramento	Arthur C. Devlin
Santa Monica Public Library	Santa Monica	Membership Committee
George Sharp, M.D.	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Miss Roberta Marie Shepherd	San Francisco	Honor Award—University of California
Jack W. Shoup	Stanford University	Aubrey Neasham
Miss Etta L. Smith	San Jose	Honor Award—Stanford University
Miss Grace S. Stoermer	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Benjamin H. Swig	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Andrew B. Talbot	San Francisco	Membership Committee
C. R. Tobin	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Nolan K. Webster	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Frederic B. West, M.D.	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Elmer H. Whittaker	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Miss Rosamond Wilfley	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt

Marginalia

The author of "Henry Douglas Bacon" is an experienced student of Lincoln, and has been a contributor to the QUARTERLY several times during the last decade on the California phases of the great President's life. His published volumes include: *Lincoln and the Doctors* (New York, 1933); *Lincoln and California* (Stanford University, 1943); and, just from the press, *The History of the Alameda County Medical Association*, published by the Association. Dr. Shutes received his M. D. from Northwestern University in 1908, and four years later came to California from the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary. He has since practiced in the East Bay.

Alex. J. Rosborough was born in Yreka, California, on August 30, 1865, some ten years after the events of which he now writes; and as he mentions in his article he spent his boyhood there. Following attendance at the Berkeley Gymnasium he entered the University of California, graduating with the class of 1887. Mr. Rosborough was elected tax collector of Alameda County in 1892. From choice he served only the one term, and in 1898 went to Alaska. His interest in travel took him to Europe in 1910. At present he is "doing such work in the mining line as Uncle Sam will permit," and acting as curator of the Siskiyou County Museum.

Charles Kasch, in his paper on the Yokayo rancheria, speaks from several years association with the members of the tribe as their attorney. He is a native of Arcata, Humboldt County, and a graduate of the University of California in 1911. The following year he attended the Harvard Law School. In January 1913, after being admitted to the California bar, he moved to Ukiah which has since been his home. Mr. Kasch served for ten

years as president of the board of library trustees of Ukiah and was chairman of the probation committee of Mendocino County for four years. In March 1944, he was appointed to the California State Park Commission by Gov. Earl Warren, being reappointed in 1946.

One of Mrs. Russell's great-grandparents, Joseph Kendall, was a '49er, and her four grandparents all came west around the Horn in the early 1850's. She was born in Piedmont, California, but as her paternal grandfather Isaac L. Requa, and her father Mark L. Requa, were mining engineers, much of her childhood was spent in mining camps in Nevada, Alaska, and Idaho. Isaac Requa will be remembered as an associate of D. O. Mills and William Sharon in their Virginia City interests and as the last president of the Central Pacific R. R. Co.; Mark Requa as fuel oil administrator during World War I. Mrs. Russell is the author of two volumes of verse: *This Native Heart* (Los Angeles, 1938), and *Alternate Beat* (Los Angeles, 1944). Her researches in family history might well stimulate others to engage in similar studies, to the advantage of QUARTERLY readers.

Maxine Chappell, a native of Ohio, graduated from the University of California in 1934, having majored in history. After graduation she became secretary of the department, continuing in that office until her appointment as research assistant to Dr. H. E. Bolton. This May she completed the university's requirements for the M. A. in history.

The translator of Alpheus B. Thompson's petition to Governor Victoria, Mackenzie Brown, completed his undergraduate studies at the National University of Mexico and at Pomona College (A. B., 1929), following which he did graduate work at Stanford University (Ph. D., 1935). From 1936-39 he was instructor at Occidental College, being appointed at the end of this period to the faculty (he is now associate professor) of the University of California, Santa Barbara College. Dr. Brown is vice-president of the Santa Barbara Historical Society, in which he has held office since 1943. A book, *The China Trade in California—Selected Letters from the Thompson Papers 1832-1863*, will be issued this year by the University of California Press.

For biographical note on J. N. Bowman, see this QUARTERLY, December 1946, page 379.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Forty years ago, Gen. Henry H. Arnold (he was then second lieutenant) passed through San Francisco on his way to the Philippines. After his second visit, bound in the same direction, he and Mrs. Arnold decided that when the time came to choose a site for their home it would be near the Bay. In California he has been stationed at Coronado (on two details, when he found time to write an article on North Island), at the Presidio of San Francisco, and at March Field in Riverside. General Arnold was made

assistant chief of staff of the air corps in 1936; it would be quite superfluous for us to elaborate upon his achievements since then.

Kennan H. Beard's great-grandfather came to California in 1850, settled first near the gold-rush town of Hornitos in the southern mines district, then moved on to La Grange. Mr. Beard's grandfather, his father, he himself and his children were all born in Stanislaus County.

L. E. Behmyer's professional interests as manager of concerts take in a wide area of the western section of the country as well as Hawaii. One glance at the history of the type of work in which he is engaged would show how well organized and successful it has been, here in California, for very nearly a hundred years.

E. Manchester Boddy, a native of the State of Washington, has been connected with the newspaper field in Los Angeles for over two decades. In 1935 he acquired the Los Angeles *Evening Post-Record*, and by 1940, through his efforts, the Los Angeles *Evening News* and the *Daily News* were merged under the present name of *Daily News*. Previous to his activities along this line he organized the Mexican Year Book Publishing Co., which issued the *Mexican Year Book* for 1921-22. In World War I, Mr. Boddy was disabled at Argonne Forest and was awarded the Order of the Purple Heart. Among his writing are *Japanese in America* (Los Angeles, 1921), and *Thinking and Living* (Los Angeles, 1929). The latter is a collection of essays he wrote as editor of the *Illustrated Daily News*.

Readers of the QUARTERLY (Dec. 1945, p. 372) will remember Mrs. Francis H. Davis' generous gift to the Society of one of the first three pianos brought to California.

In May 1898 R. Stanley Dollar began his career as bookkeeper, stenographer, etc., for his father, whose office was at 10 California Street and whose business was lumber. Because the popular role of much of the good lumber, in the days before steel took its place, was to tour the seas as ship bottoms, it was natural that the business should grow, eventually, into a shipping concern involving ownership of a world-encircling fleet known as the "Dollar Line"; and with the transformation, the headquarters moved up California Street to the present site at the corner of Battery. Another world-encircling interest associated with the name of Dollar is the Globe Wireless Ltd. at the same address.

At the semi-centennial celebration (July 7, 1896) of the raising of the American flag at Monterey, Mrs. Camille Johnston Ehrenfels acted as maid-of-honor. She modestly says that she has "hardly recovered" as yet from the "lovely honors" bestowed upon her on that occasion.

With the listing of Miss Paula Fatjo's name among the new members of the Society (see June QUARTERLY), it is important, in connection with the history of California ranchos alone, to note that she is descended from Juan Malarin, grantee of the ranchos of Guadalupe, Chualar, and Zanjones,

whose son, Mariano, married Francisco Perez Pacheco's daughter. On the latter side of Miss Fatjo's family, Pacheco was claimant for the Ausaymas, San Felipe, San Justo, and San Luis Gonzaga ranchos. The Fatjos still own the San Luis Gonzaga rancho, situated in the Pacheco Pass region.

Franklin Davenport Howell, born in Philadelphia in 1867, has seen Los Angeles grow from some 110,000 inhabitants in 1902 to over 1,500,000 at present. Mr. Howell is a grandson of Com. R. F. Stockton, his mother having been Annis, the commodore's youngest daughter. In his profession as an engineer he has served the Los Angeles area in a variety of ways, including street railway and bus systems and water projects.

Fred N. Howser, attorney general of California since January 6, 1947, was born in David City, Nebraska, in 1905, received his preparatory education in Wyoming, and completed his professional training at the University of Southern California Law School. Among the state offices held by Mr. Howser have been deputy city prosecutor in Long Beach for six years, state assemblyman two terms, and district attorney of Los Angeles County.

As recently appointed professor of California history at the College of the Pacific, Rockwell D. Hunt (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1895) will leave the South, where he has been professor of economics at the University of Southern California since 1908, and take up his residence in Stockton. Professor Hunt's father came to California via the Isthmus in 1850; his mother, across the plains four years later.

Mrs. E. Geoffrey Montgomery will be remembered as Emily Pope, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George A. Pope, and as author of the "In Memoriam" account of her mother in the March 1945 number of the *QUARTERLY*.

Hallock F. Raup is a Pennsylvanian by birth. From 1920 to 1940 he was a resident of this state (U. C., Ph.D. in 1935) and made valuable studies of urban communities—for example, San Bernardino and Anaheim—based on their historical geography. This is a point of view which could be used more often in historical research papers (but only, it might be added, by such a trained, pitfall-conscious student). His "Modern California Cartography" appeared in the March 1946 issue of the *Pacific Historical Review*. Dr. Raup is chairman of the Department of Geography and Geology at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

In her book *Through Open Doors* (announced for publication) Arabella Page Rodman (Mrs. Willoughby Rodman) gives an account of her travels abroad and of the persons with whom she conversed. Of interest in their effect on her own community have been her civic enthusiasms; for example, playgrounds—in particular, a stadium for Los Angeles in which the Olympic games of 1932 could be held, and were held. As a tribute to her various efforts, her seventy-fifth birthday was celebrated in the mayor's office in the Los Angeles City Hall.

Benjamin H. Swig is a member of the Bostonian Society, which, he says,

"is somewhat similar to the California Historical Society." (It would be illuminating to compare the schedules of the two societies.)

By alphabetical coincidence, another opinion on this subject follows directly: that the "reciprocity of interest in California history" that is possible between such an organization as the Santa Barbara Historical Society, of which Mrs. Elmer H. Whittaker is already a member, and this Society "can be made of much value"—a comment in which we heartily concur.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Hiram Gano Ferris of Illinois and California

By JOEL E. FERRIS

THE period from about 1820 to 1850 saw what has been called the "great migration" from New England and the eastern and south-eastern states into Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, northward into Minnesota and Wisconsin, and beyond toward the Pacific. My grandparents, Stephen Gano Ferris and his wife, Eunice Beebe Ferris, residents of Steuben County in south-central New York and both in their early fifties, became interested in this movement and, with their neighbors and relatives, made plans to move to the then far-western state of Illinois, where they proposed to take up virgin land. Jabez Beebe, a brother-in-law of my grandfather, had gone with his family to Illinois in 1831 to look over the country, and would be able to act as adviser for the rest of the relatives. Accordingly in the spring of 1832 Stephen Ferris, his wife, their six children, and their neighbors, started off by wagon on the 80-mile journey to Olean Point (now Olean) in southern New York, and at that time head of navigation on the Allegheny River.

At Olean, with the help of two neighbors, they built a flatboat (cooking and sleeping facilities included), and on this they made their way down the Allegheny to Pittsburgh, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers which there become the Ohio. The trip to Pittsburgh took nearly nine weeks because of rapids and sandbars. At one place in Pennsylvania, the three boys of the Ferris family found an oil spring in a bog, near where oil was later discovered and the first well drilled.

They sold the flatboat at Pittsburgh and obtained in its place a "batteau," on which they proceeded down the Ohio as far as Cincinnati. Ferris is said to have brought along a small cargo of window sash, which he sold to settlers along the river and in Cincinnati before they took passage on a river steamer, the *Niagara*, to Cairo, Ill., at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Here they boarded another boat for the 100-mile journey up the Mississippi to St. Louis, outfitting post for the fur trade and the Indian country to the west. They had another wait at St. Louis because, as December was approaching, it was difficult to get passage up the river, but the delay gave my father, Hiram Gano Ferris, a boy of ten and the subject of this sketch, the chance to accompany my grandfather on a visit to the Indian chief, Black Hawk, who was being kept a prisoner at Jefferson Barracks, and who, during the visit, held the boy on his knee, an event which speaks for itself. At last the captain of a river boat called the *William Wallace* agreed to attempt

the up-river trip before winter closed in, and for the fifth time the families and their belongings had to be transferred to another craft.

The point my grandfather wished to reach by river was about 200 miles north of St. Louis, directly across from Traders' Landing, the present site of Keokuk, Iowa; but upon reaching Quincy, they had to increase their payment to the captain before he would take them the 40 miles remaining. Even then, he made them debark on the *Iowa* side of the great mile-wide river. This made it necessary to employ another boat to ferry them across (the sixth river-boat change!), and after innumerable experiences with rapids and rocks, they reached the Illinois shore. By this time it was the thirteenth of December. Immediately Ferris and his oldest son, John Milton Ferris, set out on foot some 22 miles, across largely unsettled prairie to the cabin of his brother-in-law, Jabez Beebe, who had, as mentioned above, preceded them the year before. An ox-drawn wagon was sent back for grandmother, the children and the household goods, and on December 15, 1832, the site of their new home was finally reached. They shared the Beebe log house until the next spring when they built their own. A small settlement developed in the vicinity of these two log houses, the water supply coming from a large spring known as Horse Lick Spring. Stephen Ferris changed the name of the place to Fountain Green (mentioned in the letters that follow), and in a short time it became a small trading point with a post office. Today, after 115 years, it is a lovely little town, the center of a rich farming country, some miles from the railroad, with about 100 inhabitants living mostly in beautiful old homes surrounded by elm and maple trees.

As part of the great migration pushing westward, my mother's family had come into Illinois soon after the Ferrises reached that state. Isaac Holton, my mother's father, was born at Westminster, Vermont, in 1790. He came from a family of teachers and preachers, was prepared for college at Deerfield Academy, Massachusetts, and graduated from the University of Vermont in 1814 with this scholarly tradition in view; and although he studied law and was admitted to the bar in Vermont, teaching was the vocation he followed in Maine and elsewhere and at the University of Vermont, until, in 1835, he too joined the throng moving to the then far west—Illinois.

The steady flow of settlers, such as those belonging to both branches of my family, into Illinois after 1832, resulted in counties being organized, among them Hancock County where Stephen Ferris had settled, and the adjoining McDonough County where the Holtons took up land, their respective settlements being some ten miles apart. In 1830 the population both of Hancock County and McDonough was only about 300, but nine years later the leaders of the Mormon Church, together with most of their followers, having been driven from Missouri through conflict with the early settlers there, purchased a large tract of land in Hancock County, and established their headquarters, the church capitol, upon a site to which

they gave the name "Nauvoo." It became the Mecca for the new faith, and converts and followers poured into the city along with a generous fringe of promoters and rascals, giving Nauvoo an estimated population of from twelve to twenty thousand in 1844 and making it the largest city in Illinois. Social and religious problems entered too, resulting in the murder of the founders of the church, Joseph and Hiram Smith, at Carthage, Illinois, and the ultimate migration of the Mormons across the plains to Utah in 1847.

My father, Hiram Gano Ferris, grew to manhood along this troubled frontier. He secured his early schooling at home, but for about two years, when he was well matured, he attended an academy conducted by Isaac Holton, his future father-in-law. Besides running their farm, the Ferrises started a small tannery and sawmill. Hiram was always interested in politics and at the age of twenty-two was appointed a deputy sheriff¹ under Capt. James Backenstos, a controversial character in the early history of Illinois. Though friendly to the Mormons, Backenstos was not himself a Mormon. On one occasion he was called upon as sheriff to arrest Orrin Porter Rockwell, a prominent Mormon who had been charged with the murder of Franklyn Worrell. Hiram Ferris drove with Backenstos to Nauvoo, and, not being able to find anyone willing to assist them in finding Rockwell, they started to search the Mansion House—the combination hotel, tavern and church offices. They had gone through the first two floors, and were starting up the stairs to the third, when Rockwell stepped out with drawn pistol and said, "I will kill you, Backenstos, if you come any further." The sheriff said, "I have a duty to serve a warrant on you and arrest you and will do so." And to my father he said, "Hiram, when he shoots me, kill him." Rockwell said, "I will go with you." He was afterwards acquitted, the case being tried in an adjoining county.

In 1846 when twenty-four, my father, according to old letters, was debating whether to enter the army or go to the pioneer Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois—a primitive small college, but it had a classical course and some able instructors. His decision may be inferred from the following paragraph, which gives an idea of student life at the college and speaks of Hiram Ferris' arrival:²

In rooms, twelve feet square, many students lived for four years, carrying water from the pump in the yard, coal from a pile outside the door. . . .

The out-of-town students were mainly drawn from the immediate vicinity, sons of the pioneer Galesburg farmers, but a few came from greater distances. One was from Fountain Green, a hundred miles away. He was already twenty-four, and had served as sheriff of Hancock County. He arrived riding a horse named Mike, his sole asset. Mike was fed up and curried to fetch as high a price as possible and sold to pay college expenses.

I recently found his receipt for the first year's tuition, \$7.00. In college he created a disturbance by defying the college president who was opposed

to fraternal orders, and was expelled for affiliating with the Masonic order in the city of Galesburg. Upon his threat to sue the school, he was reinstated.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848, with the excitement it caused in all parts of the country, was a subject of discussion by the young men at Knox College, and when, in the spring of 1850 my father, a member of the Junior Class and twenty-eight, and a Freshman, David D. Colton, eighteen years old (whose people were prominent residents of Galesburg), left town by wagon for California, they did the expected thing.³ Their outfit consisted of a light wagon and three horses, and the first part of their route lay west to the Mississippi, with a stop at Fountain Green to say goodbye to the Ferris family. The Mississippi was crossed by ferry at Fort Madison, Iowa, whence they journeyed across Missouri to St. Joseph, one of the outfitting points for emigrants, and where Hiram bought two books—a Bible and a copy of Shakespeare, the latter of which I have. From St. Joseph they went north along the Missouri River to Council Bluffs, often called Kaneshville, another important outfitting point. Here they completed their purchases and on April 25, 1850, started on their overland journey of about 1500 miles to California.

Ferris and Colton, with a wisdom dictated by what seems to have been typical college-student desire for independence, did not attach themselves continuously to any of the slower caravans which often drove oxen, but pushed along by themselves. I recall as a boy hearing my father tell of the necessity, but, at the same time, the difficulty, of getting along with people. He mentioned the numerous disputes in the wagon trains, some members refusing to travel on Sundays; and at times there was selfishness toward the weak, sick, or slow travelers. In addition there was the dread disease of cholera, which took a terrible toll among the thousands jogging along westward in the wagon trains. By following the plan of traveling alone, the two young men were able to reach Placerville, then known as Hangtown, by September, having made the trip from the Missouri River in the almost record time of 76 days.⁴

As shown by the letters that follow, the two partners mined in various places, such as Center Diggings, then gradually worked up the Sacramento River until they reached its headwaters at the foot of Mount Shasta, where had been located a new mining camp, at times called Shasta Butte, Thompson's Diggings, or Little Klamath, but which finally became Yreka, the county seat of Siskiyou County. His first three or four northern California letters are written from Shasta Butte City, but beginning in February 1853, the name Yreka is used altogether.⁵ The first records of Siskiyou County are in Ferris' handwriting, as he was one of its organizers in 1852 and acted as first county clerk.⁶ Colton, his partner and junior by some ten years, became the sheriff. Their duties included participating in fights against Modoc Indians and discouraging those between miners and irrigators.⁷

Both Ferris and Colton were Democrats, but the Whig party was strong and contests between the two were apt to be exciting. In one of the campaigns, both sides were expecting important papers by Wells Fargo Express (to which mail was often consigned), and spent some time at the company's office waiting to receive them. As it happened, the Democrats received their mail but the Whigs did not. This caused charges of fraud, and the Whig managers accused the Democrats of delaying the mail. The Whig managers were from the South and hot-headed, and one of them said to Colton that he was from too far north to resent an insult as a gentleman. Colton was born in Maine. He resented this and reached over and twisted the Whig manager by the nose, saying, "Try me and see." This caused a challenge to fight a duel; all the arrangements were made, but my father succeeded in stopping it. Everyone at that time carried a revolver, and each morning cleaned and freshly reloaded it. Colts were the most popular. They were carried openly, as may be seen in the photograph accompanying this brief biographical sketch.

From the letters which follow, one can judge that Hiram Ferris was reasonably successful in his business and mining operations; he also acquired a ranch, but finally decided to return to Illinois to visit his parents. Late in 1856 he sailed from San Francisco for New York via the Isthmus. The Colt was part of his luggage, and when the hack driver said that the charge for carrying him and his small trunk from the docks in New York to his hotel would be five dollars, Ferris drew his revolver and said: "I will pay the usual charge but not five dollars." This was said to have cleared up the question in Siskiyou fashion.

Upon returning to Illinois, Ferris decided to remain there, married Julia Holton, the daughter of his teacher, Isaac Holton (see above), and became fairly prominent in business and public life. Their home was at the county-seat town of Carthage in Hancock County, and there I and all of my mother's family of nine children were born and raised. I might add that after his marriage my father had a long chain made for my mother from the gold he had brought back from the West. In time she had part of it made into gold rings for her five sons. My own ring forms part of the gold in my two daughters' wedding rings.

David D. Colton, my father's partner, has been the subject of a good many articles on early history in California and San Francisco.⁸ He moved to San Francisco about 1859 and became a prominent figure in the group of promoters led by Stanford, Huntington, Crocker, and Hopkins—the well-known "Big Four." Colton, with the title of general, organized a military company which pursued and practically exterminated a tribe of the Modoc Indians. His political activities involved him in one or two duels, among them that between U. S. Senator Broderick and Judge Terry, Colton acting as second for Broderick. In my collection are many letters from him

to my father during the years 1857-1879, at which time Colton was accidentally killed by his riding horse.

In concluding, a word should be said about my father's devotion to the Masonic fraternity. On several occasions he stated that it was almost the only tie which made men willing to take care of brother Masons who had fallen ill in the mining camps, and, in case of death, to give them the dignity and consolation of a Masonic burial—"sublime ceremonies," as he termed them. Among his papers is the certificate of the Grand Lodge of California dated May 20, 1855, certifying to his appointment as senior grand deacon of the Grand Lodge of the State of California; likewise his demit from St. John's Lodge No. 37 of Yreka (he was one of the organizers of this lodge), which also certifies that he had served as its grand master. It is dated December 8, 1857.

Placerville or Hangtown California
July 10th 1850

My Friends at Home:

I arrived in the mines yesterday. We have been 76 days from the Missouri river. Had good luck and got all our horses through. Two of them are in good condition and we have just sold them both for 190 dollars. The other horse Lion the white horse got injured on the Humbolt river by alkali and is not worth much.

I have had very good health not having been sick or unwell to exceed three days. We have put things through endways since we left the States and got here unusually early for overland emigrants.

As yet I have had little opportunity to ascertain much about gold digging and the prospect of making money fast. From what I have learned I am satisfied that fortunes are not made in a day even here. There are thousands here who are not a cent better off than when they came here last year. Still there is lots of gold in California and any man who will work hard can make on an average from six to twelve dollars a day with the chance of doing better. The country is full of miners and what the immense overland crowd will do no man can tell. They are bound to see *very hard times* on the road, still harder here—I have got along first rate and have strong confidence as to the future.

I now expect to go on to the Euba⁹ river but may change my destination. I shall try mining for awhile anyhow and if I cannot succeed try something else. I am not at all discouraged.

Rose and the boys are not here now. They left this place last March for what is called the Middle Fork. I cannot learn how well he is doing. I shall try to see him but may not as it is exceedingly difficult to find any one here. I *will see him* some time during the fall. I do not know Jabez is with him

or not. He left Salt Lake last fall to come to California by the Southern route. That is all I have been able to learn about him.

I shall write to you again within a month and will give a full account of the trip the mines and state of things here etc. etc.

I am at present in great haste. Yours Truly

H. G. Ferris

[Inscription on outside]

L. T. Ferris, M. D., Fountain Green, Hancock Co., Illinois

Mr. Barnett

Centre Diggings, Dec. 29th, 1850.

(Dr. Sir)

How do you do, how are times with you; What news have you today? How do politics range in Knox Co., Ill. State, Galesburg and particularly in the State of Cedar Fork? Who is governor this year and what is the course of policy your governor and legislature consider most advisable to pursue towards your querulous neighbors? I know it is very annoying to have an adjoining state continuously quarreling even though it should be, as with your neighbor, that they contend among themselves about a *state religion*. Such a state of things tends in no small degree to destroy the mutual benefits of commercial relations but to excite and hunt up pretexts for difficulty with an adjoining state whose citizens have been cultivating the arts of peace and by industry and good government enjoying and even progressing in happiness, while the inhabitants of the other have been "*flunkeying it*" for their leaders and contending to permanently get the biggest bone for their (Rev.) hero. This condition of things though unpleasant and tending in some degree cement difficulties in your own quiet and happy state, will have to be indured until by overt acts deprivations upon your own soil & commerce give your legislative council sufficient cause to take the matter seriously into consideration and either take them into your own care and keeping and enjoin religious contentions (as indeed I believe your state constitution has already done) or drive them out, establishing peace and good order "where confusions reigneth". But let this be dernier ressort. It might contaminate your people—I have the fullest confidence in the wisdom, prudence, discernment and integrity of your Executives and Legislative councils and the intelligence of your people and therefore I shall not suffer myself to become uneasy during my absence in a foreign country believing you will be found fully adequate to any emergency that may arise.

California is a real country and about there being gold here in considerable quantities there is no humbug. But it is a very great mistake if anybody believes that one fourth who come here to make more money will go home as well off as they came. The reasons for this are obvious to anyone here who has had an opportunity to know the real state of things as well as to many well informed men at home. Three fourths of those who come are

not fit or calculated for the country or for effecting the object for which they came. People in the States do not and, I fear, will not or cannot understand the true conditions of things in California.

There is no doubt but gold is abundant in this country. But the difficulties of getting possession of much of it honestly and fairly is the rub. It requires uncommon industry and perseverance as a general thing to succeed. A man should have the perseverance of an *ant* and the constitution of a mule. A man easily discouraged or one who is in the habit of having the *blues* (?) at all will not do. He must *pack* over mountains brave every danger & hardship, fatigue & labor and then not give up but be willing to do it again & again. He is subject to the accidents of a mountain life *Roberies* & Sickness unattended by *true* friends, for God only knows who will be true in this country and run the risk of sinking into the *grave* among strangers, neglected, unmourned and unknown.

Vice & crime I believe abounds more in this country than any other civilized state on the globe. Gambling of every sort, drinking & hoaring are common in every city, town & village in California. The two former are practiced very generally all over the country whether in towns or cities or out of them. Every inducement is presented and allurements offered to lead the weakminded & all others who have not real bone and stamina of character into it. Thousands who in the state would do very well are led into it & fall irremediably fall; for no one who travels far in that direction retraces his steps. A man who cannot refuse & when solicited too far knocks the man down who presumes to do it is not secure from these vices. Besides all this a man who is healthy in Ill. or the Western States may not enjoy his health here. The process of becoming acclimated removes thousands from this world's troubles. The dysentery which prevails here is of the same character of that which proved so destructive among our Soldiers in Mexico. *It is very difficult to manage.*

Under all these circumstances I would advise no man to come. Every man of a family ought most certainly to remain with it —: and nine out of ten of all others would do much better to stay at home. The same persevering energy & industry which is absolutely required to succeed here would ensure any man a competency at home. But should anyone conclude to come I would say from what I can learn about both routes that it would be far better to come by the Isthmus than Overland.

As for myself I had first rate luck on the journey both in health & with the team and since I arrived here I have traveled over the country a good deal and had a good opportunity to know about the mines and the state of things here generally. I have made some money & am not all disposed to grumble at bad fortune. I shall remain in Cal another year. My health is first rate. I never was so stout & hearty in my life.

D. D. Colton who crossed the plains with me is in Oregon. He went there

sometime in Oct. last. John Colton is here well & hearty, a good fellow, anxious to hear from home & wishes you not to forget to answer his letters. J. H. Noteware did not come to see him although he might have done it just as well as not. He don't know how to understand that. He receives no letter from the — — —. Noteware & B. Carpenter have recently started home. They will tell all sorts of yarns. Be careful & not believe too much of what they say either about what *they* have made or what others have made. Carpenter is a very great liar & you cannot believe him "even when he does speak the truth". Neither of them know what I have made and I presume it is so in reference to others for in this country it is not customary for a man hardly "to let his right hand know what his left hand doeth".

L. Clay, Mecum, Groscup & Davidson are on Feather River near Hangtown. I don't know how well they have done. I saw your brother J. H. Barnett in Oct. last at Goll's diggings on the South fork of Feather River. He was at that time well although he thought there was some symptoms of the scurvey hanging about him. He said he had not been lucky this summer and was not certain whether he would return this winter or not. He was in good spirits and gladly embraced the opportunity of talking of his friends and acquaintances in the *Sucker State*. He says he would not advise you to come to California. We perfectly agreed on that point. It is doubtful whether your health would be benefitted. It might be still more impaired. He was then enroute from the North Fork of Feather River and Nelson Creek for a place at which to winter. I was also coming down from the same mines when we met. I do not know where he stopped.

I am at present situated near Colloma on the South Fork of the American, 50 miles from Sacramento City in El Dorado Co. Cal. The dry diggings have not turned out much this winter on account of the scarcity of rain. There has not been enough water on the hills generally to wash out gold. We are expecting the rains to commence every day.

I presume you have ere this heard of the death of M. O. Ferris. He died about a month ago of the dysentery & an enfeebled state of health brought on by a broken leg which never got well for him to walk on it. I attended his funeral. Before his death he requested that he should be buried in Masonic State. The Masons turned out and buried him in due honors with the usual solemn and sublime ceremonies.

I have much more that I would like to write but I believe the foregoing with something *rich* which I am going to put on a separate slip of paper will be as much as you would like to be troubled with at once.

Yours truly,

H. G. Ferris

J. A. Barnett, Esquire
Galesburg, Knox Co. Ill.

Write to me immediately on the receipt of this and direct to Sacramento City, Cal. I wish you to write particularly as to whether there will be much of an emigration next Spring. On this subject I feel very much interested.

Shasta Butte City Cal
Dec 27th 1851

My dear friends at home

I received your letter (written by Thompson) dated Fountain Green June 11th about one week ago. Although it was a long time getting to me still it was *very welcome*.

I might as well in the first place tell you where I am. This place is above the head waters of the Sacramento river near the northern line of Cal. and about 400 miles from Sac. City. There is no mail carried nearer to this place than Shasta City a place midway between this and Sac City. Hence we have to get our letter by private conveyance from below. The mines here were not discovered until last spring and since May last this town has been built containing 30 stores or more of different kinds. It is built in a beautiful valley among the mountains and nothing can be brought here from any other place but Oregon except on *pack mules*. Still our principal supplies are brot. from Sac City. It is about 400 miles from Oregon City. They do come here with wagons from Oregon but is very difficult to do so on account of the mountains. I suppose we are not over 150 miles from the Coast but awful mountains are between.

I came here in August last and since the first of Sept. have been mining within 2½ miles of this place—have done well better than I have ever done before in Cal in the same length of time. Although as yet I have made no *big strike*. I have not yet fully determined whether I remain here during the winter or not. Shall settle the question in a few weeks and when I do conclude where I will stop for the winter (as I have already determined to stay in the mines until spring) I will inform you. It is my opinion the mines about here are very good and if I can strike fair “prospect” I shall remain there during the winter. It will take about two weeks to finish my present diggings.

I wrote to Dr. Griffith from Sac City on my way up here. If he gets that letter he will know all about matters and things at Cold Springs. When I was at Sac City I tried to find Solomon to have him come up here with me but could hear nothing of or concerning him. I have heard nothing from nor have not seen any of T. Green boys since Dr. G. left. My old pardner Wm. G. C. R. Deardorff left two weeks ago for Oregon. So you see I am comparatively among strangers. But nevertheless I feel very much at home—in fact I can feel at home any place almost if I am only getting the *dust* but slowly. I would like to get it fast but shall henceforth content myself with Congress wages if I cannot do better. I have a claim on a *Quartz Vain* about 40 miles from this place.¹⁰ But the vain has not been tested thoroughly yet. It may turn out to be worth something *pretty fine* and it may not be worth working. At all events I shall not much money on it until I find by

the experiments of others who have claims that it will pay. If it should turn out good it will be worth a pretty fair pile. But I don't dote much upon it. A great many men are making big fortunes in this country from the Quartz. Some loose all they have by going into it too hastily.

I have the money which I might send to J. M. Ferris to be loaned out as you suggest, but I suppose the opportunity has passed before I received your letter. Besides, it would take me a month to go to Sac City to attend to getting a draft. Under this set of circumstances I know of no other way but to let this chance slip past so far as I am concerned.

It is still my intention to return to Ill. next Spring. I may not start before May. I am anxious to get home in time that I can see you all once more at least alive and well. I am glad to hear of the improvements in F. Green. I cannot write you a very long letter this time as it is now *late*. I got on to my mule at the camp after dark and came here to write you this letter tonight. Now you have what I have had time to write. So goodby for the present.

Yours truly,

H. G. Ferris

My Friends at Home
F. Green, Ill.

I have written several letters after those which this letter of yours answers.

Dr. L. T. Ferris, Fountain Green, Hancock County, Illinois

per Mr. Wm. McAlister

who goes to Henry County, Illinois

[post mark] Peoria, Illinois, Feb. 4.

Shasta Butte City Cal.

Jan. 11th 1852

My Friends at Home

The last letter which I have rec'd from any of you was written by Thompson in June of last year. I rec'd it in Nov. last and answered a few days later. And as I do not hear from you in any way believing you still feel some interest in me and occasionally "send a wish or a thought" over this way, I have concluded not let the fact of *not* receiving letters from home keep me from writing. I have concluded to remain here this winter and spring perhaps longer how much God only knows. In my letter of Nov. last I wrote you much about this region of country, mining here etc. etc. and hence shall endeavor not to repeat, presuming that has been rec'd. In regard to return to Ill. next Spring as I have heretofore uniformly written, my intentions are changed. The principal reason of this alteration of purpose is this, viz. I have become considerably interested in Quartz mining and hence it will be necessary for me to remain next summer if not longer. You all know my leading purpose in coming to Cal. was to make money and I now for the first time since I arrived here *confidently* believe that my most sanguine expectations are about to be realized. But I must remain here,

at least long enough to get things fully in operation. I base this calculation on the fact that I have two Quartz leads that is claimed on two, both of which are well situated and I believe them to be rich. A claim is 150 ft. along the vein. These Q. leads pay as follows so far as they have been tested: the first which I found from 25cts. to \$1 or to the lb. This vein is a little over one foot thick running down no one knows how deep. The other found by a friend it is believed will pay over 12 cts. It is four feet thick furnishing an *inexhaustable* amount of Quartz. Both are situated near constant and easy water power. Several others own claims next to mine and we have organized a Com. to introduce machinery and work the vein in comp'y. And I have money enough to bear the burden of this matter (that is my share) and get it fairly going. It has been found by actual experience in Cal. that Q which will pay 3cts. to the lb. will richly pay for working with machinery at Cal. prices for labor. Upon these facts I have fixed my "confident belief". I admit the possibility of a failure but not the probability if I live and have my health.

I have not written this with any other intention in the world than that you should know my real prospects and as they seem to be flattering at present some may think that I boast. Therefore I don't want the contents of this letter put into everybodys mouths. Let my *friends* see it such as will not *blab* and none other.

I am mining this winter making from three to eight dollars per day—have first rate health and good intelligent and moral set of men to be with. You are acquainted with none of them except D. D. Colton the young man who crossed the plains with me.

I can give you no information concerning Solomon, Hopkins, Rose, McGee the Wrights or anyone else of the Ft. Green boys but the *subscriber*.

There is another Hiram Ferris in this part of Cal. from Ill. Mercer Co. He is not much account—badly in debt—*no kin of course*.

I am as democratic as ever although I am not very well posted up in the political events of the day. You may all rely upon it that Cal. is and *will continue* to be a democratic state. Oregon is also democratic to core.

Direct to me at Shasta City, Shasta Co. Cal. That is the nearest P.O. although it is 150 miles off. However I shall have no difficulty in getting your letters from there or Sac. City.

Yours truly,

H. G. Ferris

John M. Ferris, F Green, Ill.

P. S. I think I shall have some items of interest to write you in the Spring in relation to other matters.

Give my compliments to Tyler, Dr. Griffith and Stevenson. I am anxious to hear from Father & Mother often. *O when shall I see you all again.*

A supplement to the above letter contains information (said by Ferris to be reliable)

on quartz mining, made by men engaged in the business in Nevada. Basis used is quartz paying 1 cent to the pound, and estimate is for water power, with no cartage allowed. Ferris says: "It is where the Q can be run in a slide or down the hill on a rail way to the mill. (Both my claims are so situated)." Total expenses for a mill of 50 stamps of 800 lbs. each, crushing 2 tons per stamp per day, or 100 tons per day, were figured at \$731 per day. Returns at "1 cent per lb. fives" would amount to \$2000, leaving a profit of \$1269 per day. The letter continues:

Now if Q. will pay 12cts. or over to the lb. the profits per day will be increased accordingly. Hence you see the *enormus* profits of this business. After good machinery has been put rightly in operation!!

It will pay better than any other propty in the U. S. after throwing off nine tenths of this for too large calculations.

A mill 25 stamps with water power can be started for \$5000.00. These figured results may seem to you like fiction but facts in this country *veryfy them to fullest extent.*

Now my dear brothers I wish you understand that if fortune does smile upon me as at present she promises *you shall be benefited in no small degree.* The Ferris Family generally *shall rise* that is, one branch of it.

I shall write to you often and keep you informed of these matters. Mean time *keep what facts I do communicate quiet among yourselves.*

Yours

H. G. Ferris

We will have to ship our machinery to Oragon and haul from there hence we cannot get the mill in operation before July. It may be later.

Mr. S. H. Tyler Jr.

Yreka City Siskryou Co. Cal.

Dear Sir:

March 5th 1854

Last week I received a letter from Thompson dated at Ft. Green Dec. 14/53 from which I learn that for some time previous you had been enjoying poor health. And upon reading it I resolved to write to you first of any of my numerous friends in Ills.

And first I will venture to express the opinion that a trip across the plains to this country *would cure you. I most sincerely believe it would;* having known a good many cases of weak and affected lungs which the journey entirely cured. One is that of *John Warren* of LaHarpe. When he left this place on his return home I made him promise to go to Ft. Green and tell you all about the effect of the journey had on him. And also that it was my opinion that it might thoroughly restore you to sound health and *make you fat.* If he complied with his promise you will have known my views on this subject before this letter reaches you. The effects of the journey upon that character of diseases seems to be uniform. A *cure in almost every case.* And were I in your place I would try it if I did not get effectual relief, soon, in some other way. Sound health would be worth to you more than a dozen

such trips would cost—money time and fatigue are nothing in comparative estimation with health. Come by water if you can't by land. A year or two spent among these mountains I think would cure you anyhow. I say try it if you have not recovered when this reaches you. The chances of a favorable effect are worth taking. But should you have recovered as I hope to God you have, then I don't insist upon your coming. Do as you please, but I do believe you would not regret a year spent in Cal. even under such circumstances. What say you to it? I will meet you on Humbolt or at San Francisco if I can know when you will be at either place. *Let me entreat you to take some decisive measures besides the use of medicine.* I well know you can no where have kinder attention or better medical aid shown you than at home. But you must leave that climate awhile and put yourself amid different scenes and different excitemis. Should you come here you will by no means be away from all your friends. I know *one* who will be happy to render you every aid and attention. And that individual is by no means scarce of friend such as are "good and true." Should you come by water I would advise the Niceraugua route.

The manner of living in Cal. now is quite different from what it was three years ago. All the necessaries and luxuries of life can now be had here at comparatively moderate rates.¹¹ No one need to vary from his choice in good things to eat. But you can scarcely imagine how great the differences in appearance between this country and Illinois. Everything seems changed. But after a short residence a person can see that the country has some attractive qualities beside its gold. Come, for your health, and see.

It would afford me very great pleasure to return and visit you and the rest of my relatives and friends in Ill. All whom I would care much about seeing are in Hancock County. But at present circumstances are such that I must forego that great satisfaction. Nor can I now even guess when I shall visit Illinois. This country seems to me very much like home. Still I *must & will* if I live see Ill. again.

Patrick Wright is at work driving team at a Saw Mill about 5 miles from this place. He gets \$100 a month and board. He has been at the same place since last fall and will probably continue there at the same wages. He is steady and saves his money. I know nothing of Seborn or Simen. Suppose they are in the lower country. Natham Burton Bond has been here about one month and is now at work for me on my Ranch in Scott Valley about 23 miles from this place. John Burnham is also at work on it and Geo. Smoot, a young man who came to the country with John Warren carries it on for me. I know nothing of the whereabouts of Solomon, Jabez or Rose. I rec'd letters from Rose early in the fall, inquiring whether he had better come into this part of the country and answered immediately informing him that I would like to see him and that he might do well here if he *would not drink*

but that I did not want him to come if he had not concluded to remain a sober man. Have not heard from him since. As for myself, I have but little to say. I generally enjoy good health, always keep in good spirits sick or well, am doing well enjoy myself well and am well pleased to subscribe myself with much respect your Sincere Friend

H. Gano Ferris

To S. H. Tyler, Jr., Fountain Green, Ill.

My respects to Francina, Father Mother & all the rest not omitting but particularly remembering A. W. Stevenson

Yreka Cal. Feby 6th 1855

Dear Father

On the first day of Jan'y last I enclosed and forwarded to you a draft for \$100 as a New Years present—and I herewith enclose the *Second* of *Exchange* of the same. If the first reached you this of course will be valueless, but if not you can draw the amount on this.—I did not know what else to send so easily nor of anything that would be a better testimonial to its value.

I also then wrote a short letter in which stated that I had not rec'd a line from any of my friends in Ill. for more than six months passed. Nothing has yet reached me. My opinion is that they have quit writing. *What is the reason?* It has always been a source of peculiar pleasure to receive letters from my friend and acquaintances in Ill. and especially from my relative at home. It would still be the same but present appearances indicate that I shall no longer be gratified in that way.—I fear that something has happened. I am well and I may say in prosperous circumstances, have firmly resolved to take care of what I have as well as possible *enjoy it* and not take doubtful chances in business or speculation. But I shall be compelled to remain in this country some time longer—cannot say how long.

I have no news for from Solomon or Jabez. I rec'd a letter from Rose some 3 or 4 weeks ago. He was near Nevada when he wrote—and spoke of his intention of coming into this part of the country in the Spring. I do not know whether he drinks hard yet or not. Patric Wright is near here at work for about \$80.00 or \$90.00 a month.

Times are said to be hard here now—money scarce, some braking, changing, etc. This is in consequence of not having rain to facilitate mining operations. Every other branch of business and track is dependent upon the mines. We have had a *very dry winter* and lots of fine fair weather. But a few weeks rain will infuse new life into business trade and enterprise and all things will rush on again headlong.

Remember me to all friends and acquaintances and say to them that I would be very much pleased to see & talk to them and that I still indulge the hope of doing so at no very distant day, and believe me ever

Truly your Son

Hiram

Stephen G. Ferris, Fountain Green, Hancock Co., Illinois

Yreka, Siskeyou Co. Cal.

My Dear Sister Francina:

June 27th, 1855

Your letter dated Mar. 11th/55 arrived at this place during my absence at San Francisco. I left here about Apr 24 & returned the last of May. When I got back I found your letter also one from Thompson dated March 18. Although they contained the mournful news of the death of Mr. Tyler Jr. still I was glad to see them.

I deeply sympathize with you in this your great bereavement. The ways of Providence are indeed wonderful & past understanding, but wise & good All who live must die. All are hastening to that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns". And this unavoidable certainty should not be foreign to our thoughts while yet health & life lasts. Our lives are truly checkard scenes. diversified with good will, joy & sorrow, success & disappointments, continually succeeding & to succeed each other until the end, and then may we reasonably entertain a bright hope of a glorious immortality of unending happiness?

I know you have many good friends and advisors to sustain and befriend you. Your own good judgment will direct you in a course of life & conduct that will always secure such friends. I greatly regret your loss & mine in the death of Mr. Tyler. I had hoped again to see & converse with him. He certainly had many estimable qualities. When in health possessed superior business capacities, industry & enterprise, a kind heart, generous nature. As for foibles he would have been more than human if he had none. Let them not be forgotten & let us remember & cherish his good qualities and deplore his early death. . . .

I have no particular news to communicate. My health is uniformly good and I am still doing quite well. I have by no means given up the hope of visiting my friends in Ill. at no very distant day. I intend to see you all as soon as I can get my affairs in proper shape to leave for a year or close out here altogether.¹²

I know nothing of the whereabouts of either Solomon, Jabez or Rose. David V. Gilchrist is in this neighborhood. He is a sober, industrious boy & I think he will do well. Patrick Wright & one of his brothers are also near here. Pat has done quite well. I do not know whether the other has made anything or not.

If I knew where Solomon was I would write to him. I saw Dr. Barnes while I was in San Francisco. He lives in Pettaloma Valley about 50 miles across the Bay from the City.

Remember me to our relatives, all the Stevenson & all other friends.

I hope Father & Mother have gone east for a visit this summer. I am willing to furnish some money should debts be incurred on act of their visit. Give my love to them and believe me

Your affectionate brother

H. G. Ferris

To Mrs. Francina R. Tyler, Fountain Green, Hancock Co., Illinois

San Francisco, Cal.

Nov. 4th, 1856

I herewith enclose to myself at Fountain Green Hancock Co. Ill., or if I should not safely arrive there (having arranged to start on the P. M. S. S. Co.'s Steamer Sonora which leaves this port for Panama on the 5 or 6th of this mo) to the care of John M. Ferris Esq. the following papers towit.

A duplicate receipt of Wells Fargo & Co. for a Gold Bar worth \$1895.35 No. of receipt 1158—date San Francisco Cal. Nov. 1st, 1856 in which they insure & promise to deliver to me at their office in N. Y. the said Gold Bar. Also a Certificate of exchange of Lucas Turner & Co. on the Metropolitan Bank, New York for \$4100 No. 11762—date Nov. 3d, 1856 payable to R. McKee & Co. or order & endorsed by them to me.

I have the original of the above receipt & the First of the Certificate of Ex with me—and also I have with me a U. S. War Warrant draft on the Assistant U. S. Treasurer N. Y. for \$1918.00 payable to Wm. H. Galleff or order & endorsed by him to me—No. of Register 563—signed Sam Casey Treasurer of U. S.—dated Washington April 18th, 1856 & other valuable papers.

H. G. Ferris

P. S.—I have a good deal of unsettled business, notes & property at Yreka, Siskiyou Co. Cal.

N.B.

Under the Rose

H. G. Ferris or if he does not arrive safely at Fountain Green, Ill., to the care of

John M. Ferris Esq., Fountain Green, Hancock Co., Ills.

NOTES

1. A letter (dated Portland, Ore., Nov. 4, 1856) from J. B. Backenstos to Hiram G. Ferris, Yreka, says in part: ". . . You gained my confidence in 1845 and have held it to the fullest extent ever since. The frank and noble devotion which you manifested in support of law and order, justice and right, during the trying time of *mob* misrule in Hancock, Illinois, in 1845 and 46 did make an impression upon me so favorable to your character for cool deliberate courage and steadiness of purpose in sustaining a position both lawful and constitutional (though unpopular at the time) against Mobocracy . . ." (Family letters and other papers quoted in this introduction to the letters of Hiram Gano Ferris, as well as the letters themselves, are in the present writer's possession.)

2. Earnest E. Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie* (New York, 1937), p. 135.

3. Doris M. Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California, 1848-70," this *QUARTERLY*, XIX (Dec. 1940), App. A, p. 339, shows 2,722 emigrants from Illinois as having arrived in California in 1850; the figure for 1860 is 8,251. M. H. B. Boggs, *My Playhouse Was a Concord Coach* (Oakland, 1942), pp. 203-04, lists "Illinoistown," Placer County, as one of the post offices in California in 1854; and in "Siskiyou County Affairs" (MS in the Bancroft Library), under the heading *The Mines of the North*, mention is made

of "Illinois Creek" and "Illinois Valley," in a quotation from the *Yreka Mountain Herald* of March 18, 1854.

4. J. S. Cowden ("Diary . . ." bound photostatic copy in collection of California Historical Society, courtesy of Mrs. Wilson Compton), started from Iowa on April 7, 1853, with a party traveling by ox team and wagon, and did not reach Yreka until Oct. 12th. The entry in Cowden's diary for that day reads: ". . . and at about three o'clock arrived at Yreka . . . six months and five days after leaving Keosauqua, [south-eastern] Iowa, and am glad indeed to be through with our long and weary tramp."

5. As to the origin of the word "Yreka," the writer remembers as a student in college having run across the following statement in Chas. F. Johnson's *English Words—An Elementary Study of Derivations* (N. Y., 1891, p. 174): "A very odd name of a village in one of our Western states is Yreka which the future etymologists will no doubt explain as a corruption of Eureka. In reality, it was suggested by the sign of a bakery, which, printed in large letters on a window curtain, was legible from the inside, but from the outside appeared reversed, with the initial 'B' concealed behind the right-hand casing. This must rank as the most singular origin of a geographical name on record." When this bit of philology was brought to my father's attention, he gave an entirely different, on-the-scene explanation of the word's origin, as follows: the commissioners were meeting in the open under a tree when the question came up as to the best way to settle upon a name for their community, the diversity of names—Shasta Butte City, Thompson Dry Diggings, Klamath Flats, Little Klamath—being unsatisfactory. My father suggested that the Indian name for Mt. Shasta might be good, and he was appointed to find out from a member of the tribe living in the valley what the word was. The Indian answered that it was "Ieka"; the accent, as my father heard it, was on the "e," and the "k" had a guttural sound. This name was adopted for the town by the commissioners, though modifications occurred in the spelling until "Yreka" became the accepted form. A. L. Kroeber, "California Place Names of Indian Origin," *Univ. Calif. Publications in Am. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, XII (June 15, 1916), p. 68, says that the Indian name, in proper transliteration, is "Waiika." See especially *California Statutes*, 1857, Chap. CXCVII, p. 102, for formal enactment confirming the name: ". . . The inhabitants of Yreka City are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic . . . and by that name and style they, and their successors shall be known in law. . . ."

6. The spelling of "Ferris" apparently gave trouble to a mid-nineteenth century copyist, the error being perpetuated in the state's records, namely, in *California Statutes*, 1852, p. 233, it appears as "H. G. Ferrls" in the list of county commissioners, and H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 441, follows suit. Other names, however, suffer too: Theodore F. Rowe, as given in the *History of Siskiyou County* (Oakland, 1881), pp. 64 ff., is rendered B. F. Rae in *California Statutes (idem)*, and as R. F. Rae in Bancroft (*idem*); and D. H. Lowry of the county history appears as David Lowry in the *Statutes*, but in Bancroft as David Fowry.

7. One such disturbance gained the name of the "Greenhorn War." (According to Cowden, *op. cit.*, p. 43, the name Greenhorn, as applied to the locality, originated in the finding of the first gold there by a newcomer.) See *Biography of Colton* in "David Douty Colton" (unsigned MS in the Bancroft Library), pp. 3-5; also *History of Siskiyou County, op. cit.*, pp. 107-08, for an account of the dispute between the miners of Greenhorn who had the first right to the water, and the ditch company which had rights to the overplus, and the part played by Sheriff Colton and Ferris in withstanding an attack on the jail by a mob.

8. The unsigned David Douty Colton manuscript in the Bancroft collection, referred

to in the preceding note, contains three parts: pp. 1-32, Broderick duel; pp. 33-71, political sketch; and a typewritten portion, with printed matter added, entitled *Biography*, 73 pp.

9. The spelling, "Euba," here is interesting. Derivation of the usual "Yuba" is given variously as a corrupted form of the Spanish *uva* (wild grape) by Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 439, note, and by Owen C. Coy in his *Genesis of California Counties* (Berkeley, 1923), p. 5, citing Gen. M. G. Vallejo. But Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 68, says that this derivation is imaginary, and traces the word to the Indian village of Yupu or Yuba near the mouth of the river. (The botanical name of the wild grape is *Vitis californica*.)

10. See "Siskiyou County Affairs," *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24, extract from *Siskiyou Chronicle*, Sept. 24, 1859, which gives history of quartz mining in the county from as early as 1851. Mention is made of the difficulty of transporting machinery so far into the mountains. Several companies attempted it in 1852 but were forced to suspend. Interest had been reviving "within the past six months," the article (dated, as said above, on Sept. 24, 1859) reported. See also John S. Hittell, *Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco, 1882), pp. 292-93, for brief history of quartz mining in the state.

11. Yreka had other hardships than drought. Boggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 157, gives excerpts from the *Alta California* of Jan. 14, 1853, and the *Shasta Courier* of March 19, 1853, describing the great freeze of that year, called "the starvation," when Yreka had no flour.

12. H. G. Ferris' interest in newspaper ownership is recounted in the Siskiyou County history (*op. cit.*, p. 98), in connection with the *Mountain Herald*, which, it will be remembered, was said to have been printed on the old Ramage Press of Semple and Colton ("Siskiyou County Affairs," *op. cit.*, p. 1, citing the *Yreka Journal*, Dec. 15, 1859).

Documentary

Barlow Dyer, writer of the letter transcribed below, represented Calaveras County in the California assembly at the session of 1863-4 and in the senate at the sessions of 1871-4. Oscar Hugh LaGrange, to whom the letter is written, was a general in the Grand Army of the Republic. In 1869 he was appointed superintendent of the San Francisco mint by President Grant, in which position he served through the year 1878. Samuel Nathaniel Parker, previous to the writing of this letter a Mokelumne Hill miner, was listed in Langley's *San Francisco Directory* for 1873 as assistant roller, coiner's department, U. S. branch mint. [We are indebted to Miss Ruth Teiser of San Francisco for the above information.—Ed.]

[Letterhead]

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
Legislative [State Seal] Department
Nineteenth Session
SENATE CHAMBER

Sacramento, March 20th 1872

General LaGrange

Dr Sir, I learn that there are to be changes at the mint the beginning of the month. I cannot but feel that the gentleman of whom I wrote sometime since. S. N. Parker now in the Weigher's Department ought to have a place in the Mint. Senator [Cornelius] Cole promised last fall and in a letter I had from him recently that he should have a place if possible He desires the place of helper to the melter and refiner I think. I wish you could give him the place he desires. His integrity is unquestioned and services entitle him to a place It is a disgrace that men who never did anything for the party must have all the good places and such men as Parker who have borne the burden and with me made the canvass in our County that first overturned the democracy [*sic*] there, should work for fifty cents an hour and get two or three hours work in a day

Hoping that this may receive your favorable consideration

I am Yours

Barlow Dyer

Original letter in Wells Fargo Bank History Room.

The Descent on California in 1863

By HENRY R. WAGNER

IN 1929 in the March number of this QUARTERLY I published a short notice of a newly-discovered account of an expedition to Lower California in 1683. It was only a fragment of two small quarto leaves which I surmised from internal evidence should have two more. Recently the complete document of four leaves has turned up in Mexico and was reprinted in December 1945 in the *Impulsor Bibliográfico*, a publication of the Antigua Librería Robredo in Mexico City. The little piece comprises the substance of two letters written from the Puerto de la Paz in Baja California by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino and by the commander of the expedition, Isidro Atondo y Antillón. These contributions are not quoted separately, but it is easy to tell from the contents the parts written by each.

Father Kino had reached Mexico in 1680 while Atondo had been commander of the presidio of Sinaloa from 1673 to 1679. The occupation of the peninsula of California, then generally thought to be an island, had been a desirable design of promoters and speculators for the best part of a century. The objects put forward by these men were pearls and souls—pearls for merchants and souls for the glory of God. The lower part of the peninsula had been pretty thoroughly explored, and one pearl hunter claimed to have ascended the Gulf of California to its head. During the period between 1615-73, the expeditions were accompanied by Franciscans, by Jesuits, and one by a clérigo. The Franciscans were the earliest, having entered with Hernando Cortés in 1535, later in 1595 with Sebastián Vizcaíno, and still later. Jesuits first went to California with Pedro Porter y Casanate's expeditions. At this time the Franciscans intervened and claimed prior rights, but the viceroy favored the Jesuits and they went with Porter, and one even went with Cestín de Cañas. The contention lasted until 1692. While it was in progress, a dispute arose between the bishop of Nueva Galicia and the bishop of Guadalajara over the episcopal jurisdiction of California.

Atondo succeeded in getting a contract with the viceroy in 1679 to conduct an expedition to California at the expense of the crown. Previously all expeditions had been conducted by individuals or companies with only the pearl fishing in view. Atondo's expedition was no more fortunate than those of his predecessors. The country was sterile and the Indians, if not actually hostile, refused to dive for pearl oysters in the deep water. Discouraged, Atondo abandoned La Paz in July 1683 and returned to the coast of Sinaloa. In October he returned to California and settled at a place called by him San Bruno, north of La Paz. The history of the stay at San Bruno has been related by Father Kino in his diary and by later writers of the Jesuit order. Some exploration, in an attempt to find a profitable pearl fishery, failed.

It was finally decided to put the situation before the viceroy with a recommendation to abandon the enterprise. The viceroy's answer was to make the settlement, if possible, but late in 1685 the admiral gave up and returned to the mainland. The expedition is said to have cost the government over 200,000 pesos.

The Jesuits were dissatisfied. They had learned a little of the languages spoken by the natives and thought there was some hope for their conversion. Finally, Kino, who had been transferred to the Sonora field, met Father Juan María Salvatierra while on a visit to the missions and urged on him the feasibility of colonizing the peninsula. Thus it was that in 1697, Salvatierra in Mexico received through the aid of his associate Juan Ugarte, sufficient funds to try again, this time without financial aid from the government. Thus, the Pious Fund came into existence. In February 1697, the viceroy gave the required licenses and the die was cast. In October, Salvatierra set out from the mouth of the Yaqui river with a few men, leaving Kino, the real father of the enterprise, behind, as the interests of the Sonora missions did not permit him to leave his post. Salvatierra founded the first mission at Loreto, which remained the headquarters of the missionaries during their occupation of California. He wrote at once to the provincial in Mexico several letters dated November 26 and November 27 which were printed in Mexico in 1698.

The results of the Atondo expedition were embodied in a report in Mexico dated 1686; this was sent to Spain in a certified copy, and is now in the Archivo de Indias 1-1-2/31. Among the documents included with it are several long letters from Father Kino from California. Atondo y Antillón also wrote and printed on March 23, 1686, a relación of his services in which he summarizes his account of the expedition.

The small tract of four leaves, which is the subject of this article, has so far as I know never been mentioned by any other writer. José María Beristain y Sousa, who spent twenty years searching libraries in Mexico for material written by natives of Mexico or visitors there, has some account of Father Kino but does not mention the tract. He also mentions Atondo y Antillón, but simply says that the account of his voyage was in the archives in Spain.

A copy of the tract, however, appears to have reached France, for it was published in French in a paraphrased form in 1685, with an account of the *Voyages de l'Empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie*. In the following year a translation of this book into English was printed in London.

This little tract is, so far as my knowledge goes, the first separately printed account of California. The general histories of Francisco López de Gómara, Antonio de Herrera, and Fr. Juan de Torquemada contain some account of earlier expeditions, especially Torquemada's. A number of "relaciones de servicios" had also been printed by various individuals, who were engaged

in expeditions to California after pearls, but none of these was published. About the year 1600 the Consejo de Indias issued orders that all applications for advancement or privileges had to be accompanied by a *relación de servicios* of the petitioner and many of these were printed for the use of members of the Consejo. Although in my *Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (Albuquerque, 1937), I attribute the printing of some of these to other places, I am now convinced that all were printed in Madrid, regardless of the places where they were written.

As a result of this expedition, Kino drew a map of California (now in the archives at Seville), which was reproduced by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton in Kino's *Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta* (Cleveland, 1919), and again in his *Rim of Christendom* (New York, 1936). In the latter work, Dr. Bolton also translated that part of Kino's diary which relates to this expedition (see his pages 105 ff).

Translation

From the conquest of New Spain, the island of California has been the object sought, on account of its great riches in pearls and in souls, which in the common opinion the prolonged gulf contains, an opinion confirmed by the many explorers who have navigated it. Both motives took there, first, the adelantado of New Spain, the Marqués de Valle, Don Hernando Cortés, the immortal hero. Called shortly afterward by certain fears of trouble which threatened in the recently conquered kingdom, he could not perform what his great valor and good fortune promised. Many great captains after him embraced the enterprise in repeated expeditions. Various events, or perhaps improvidence, frustrated their efforts, without bringing more than accounts of various missions [natives] which inhabit it and of great pearl beds which are found on the innumerable islands in the gulf and of some amber on the beach. The first of these impelled some priests, not only of the secular clergy but of the religious orders, to set sail and enter the seas, to fish for souls. The second, not without the first incentive, moved, at different times, others, who fitted out vessels at their own expense and proceeded, according to their accounts, up to 35° north, to discover some of its riches. This design was laudable, but for the greater part their efforts were inefficacious and their labors bore little fruit.

I infer that the reason why, up to the present, the conquest has not had the desired success, is that it has not been paid for solely by our Catholic monarch (to whom God has assigned the role of Atlas in the Church, to support its Faith on his august shoulders, and to clinch its promotion in his royal zeal). This year of 1683 on January 18, D. Isidro Atondo y Antillón sailed from the port of Chacala in Nueva Galicia, in the jurisdiction of the Church of Guadalajara, with two small vessels of good burden and a launch as a tender, very well provided with men, munitions and provisions. He was dispatched by the most excellent Señor Marqués de la Laguna, viceroy and

captain general of this New Spain. Complying carefully with the orders of his majesty not to spare the money of the royal hacienda, where the good of souls was concerned in this enterprise of California, he gave orders to supply, and did supply effectively, an abundance of everything necessary for the ships and men, corresponding to his great Christianity and to the zeal inherited from his royal house. Besides, he provided clothing, beads and trinkets, and such things as are powerful attractions in bringing the Indians to God and the king.

They sailed with the northwest wind, beating continually (as it was a head wind) for twenty days until they reached the port of Mazatlán on February 7. From there, in thirty-nine days to March 18, they reached the river of Sinaloa. Taking some refreshment they voyaged along the coast of Sinaloa for six days until they doubled the islands of San Ignacio¹ and got to windward of them so as to sail more freely—or, to speak more correctly, so as to cut not only the wind less, but also the great currents which were emptying into the Pacific from the strait or branch of the sea. From this point to March 25, the day on which the Divine Word gave a beginning to our Redemption, they struck it [California] where we hope by His Divine Mercy to open the road to the innumerable heathen who live on it in the shadow of death. The two ships, *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, crossed; but as the sloop, on the voyage from Chacala, arrived at Mazatlán without the launch, owing to a storm, it could not follow the two ships, to seek the coast of California by sailing almost east to west. One night they sighted the island of Cerralvo and the land of California, and noticed that from the middle of this arm of the sea they could, at the same time, see the cerros of San Ignacio to the east, in the country of Sinaloa, and the cerros of California; from which they inferred that in that place the sea of California was not more than thirty-five leagues wide. When almost upon the coast of that island, in order to gain a league and double the island, they had to spend three days on account of the force of the current and the northwest wind. Following the coast from there to the northwest they sailed eight leagues and, although with difficulty, made the mouth of the port, so celebrated on maps and in sailing directions as Nuestra Señora de la Paz. All the printed maps place this in 24°. ² Some manuscript maps place it in 27°, some in 26°, and others in 25°. The printed maps of Jansonio agree with the sailing chart of Capt. Francisco de Luzenilla³ who puts it in 24° 10' [actually 24° 15']. Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, an eminent cosmographer, said that the mouth of the port is in 25° less 05'. This increased the doubt in the mind of the Almirante Don Isidro de Atondo whether they were really in the Puerto de la Paz or in some other. He also doubted this, because, besides the difference in latitude, the Indians whom they found on the mainland did not understand any of the words the Jesuit fathers had written down in their vocabularies as belonging to the languages which, according to other

members of the same company who had entered it on other expeditions, the Indians of the Puerto de la Paz spoke. A doubt was also felt because all the accounts of other captains commonly say that the Indians of this port come out at once to the ships in their canoes and balsas with great signs of friendship. On this occasion no canoes or balsas came out, nor did they find any people on land for several days. They attempted to quiet this doubt with the idea that perhaps the Indians, called Guaricuros—who, according to old accounts, carried on a war with those of La Paz—had taken possession of the country and the port and had driven out of it or killed the inhabitants, because the landmarks showing the Cabo de San Lucas to leeward and the Punta de Porfía on the Isla de Cerralvo,⁴ made it probable that this was the old Puerto de la Paz. Whether or not it was the old one, it was now called the Puerto de la Paz, as the Almirante so named it and as Father Eusebio Kino also marked it on his maps.⁵ They entered it on March 31, having finished on that day a devout novena to the glorious San José. The bay is very large, and, according to the description of Father Eusebio, very like that of Cádiz. On the following day, April 1, we entered it five or six leagues farther and anchored. Some landed in two launches, among them the Almirante and the captains and pilots of both ships. They found a very large palm grove,⁶ more than half a league in size, a spring of very good water and of good taste, and all the country as far as the little they saw of it had good drinkable water. They did not find any Californians nor any trace of them. With this information they returned to sleep on board.

On the day following, April 2, the day of San Francisco de Paula, all went ashore. They at once fashioned a very large cross and placed it on a high place, taking possession, by unfurling the standard of the Faith, of all that country in the Name of the King of Heaven and of the Spains. To see if there were any Indians hidden in this forest, they left some small things to eat—maize and biscuits—and returned to the ships, having explored some of the country. On April 3 they again landed and found intact, in the same place, the things they had left. Upon this they became uncertain whether people lived there or not. The two fathers of the company, and one of the captains with some soldiers, ascended a small hill but found no men nor houses nor anything except a forest and in the middle of this a lake, apparently a small one. They returned to the ships and on Sunday in the morning, mass having been said on the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta*, they penetrated farther into the bay with the launches by a branch or an estero which extends for more than three leagues. The place where this ends, as Father Eusebio Kino writes, is in $24^{\circ} 10'$, from which it appears that the variation of the degree assigned to this port by different charts can be reconciled. They did not find any Indians on land, causing no little disconsolation among those who had, as the object of this enterprise, the conversion of souls more than fishing for pearls. In the afternoon of this day, they put

out a net and caught a grand lot of pargos, robalos, pompanos, flounders of monstrous size, skates, mojarras, and other fish which they call zapos, which are poisonous according to their previous information. These provided the men on the two ships with food for almost three days. On Monday they returned to the land and near the palm grove and the stream of water, where they had placed the cross, they began to build a small church and a little fort of half-moon shape, which they called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, after the Holy image which they carried of that miraculous lady as a conqueror of all this country. It was providential that the admiral and the other captains had seen smokes from a height and assumed that they could be signs to call together the people for war. Although this consoled them, in having made certain that there were people living in the country, it also put them on their guard. They fortified themselves with the trunks of palm trees which they cut, putting between them, in place of fagots, the luggage they carried for their belongings and the chests of the men, so that, if occasion arose, they could use their firearms without danger of the arrows and darts which the Indians use. In the sally port of the fort's half-moon, which faced the church, they placed a cannon of bronze, and at the two ends two swivel guns with good range, so that on that night they felt secure. On Tuesday morning, while the soldiers were cutting trees on the hill and fashioning timber to secure the fortifications, they suddenly heard the shouts and cries of Indians who were coming toward the place where the Spaniards were. They sounded the alarm in the camp and all went to the fort, when as many as thirty-five Indians of fine appearance and well armed with bows, arrows and darts arranged themselves in the form of a half-moon. With signs and gestures they told them to leave their country. The almirante and the captains also by signs gave them to understand that they did not come to make war on them, but that they came peaceably and to cultivate friendship with them, and gave them to understand that they should lay down their arms and put them on the ground and they would do the same; but the Indians did not wish to do so. Then the two religious of the company, Father Mathias Goñi and Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, went to them intrepidly, and offered them maize, biscuits, and cofcates or strings of beads, and other things which they prize highly in their poverty. At first they did not wish to receive them into their hands but made signs to have them placed on the ground from which they would take them. This the fathers did; and having tried the biscuit and eaten the maize with evidences of great liking, they received them from the hands of the fathers and other Spaniards, laying aside their arms. Now, being pacified and quieted, the Indians took all that was given to them, especially things to eat, showing most pleasure in the maize and the fish and the water, of which they were apparently in need; and, passing their hands over their stomachs and rubbing them briskly, they signified their necessity for food—not because they

lacked it, as they brought with them some pieces of mescal, tlatemado or roasted, which even in New Spain is used for presents, and also some venison. With this they regaled the Spaniards and returned their kindly reception, because it seems that they had that day traveled a long distance and had saved this food for their return, or to eat it at the watering place which the Spaniards had already seized. The admiral, Don Isidro, advises in his letter that he observed that whatever the Spaniards gave them, although they ate a little of it, they retired to the forest and came back next time for more. It might be that they had their women and children in ambush there, and took the food to divide with them. They went away that day almost at nightfall and, although our people were content, they were not without suspicion and precaution. No one is bold in the sight of enemies or unknown people, and so they continued the rest of the day and all Wednesday, April 7, to cut palms, and very large trees to fortify the half-moon shaped fort.

On Thursday, the 8th, a great netful of fish was caught; and as the Indians did not come back that day, some suspected a bad spirit among them and that perhaps they were congregating in order to come in a greater number and overwhelm our people. They lost this caution on Friday when eighty of the Indians came, all in peace, most of them different from the first ones, and with signs of great friendship and familiarity.

They were shown that day an image of Our Lord crucified and one of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe which was carried as the patroness of the enterprise, and they gave our people to understand, by the strangeness which they showed on seeing the images, that they had never before seen or heard of any such things, nor had had any notice of them. They went back in the afternoon to the forest to sleep, and returned on the following day, with more familiarity and simplicity, going among the Spaniards with freedom and too much liberty, stealing some small things with notable subtlety. The admiral, seeing that their actions were too free, thought it well to put some fear into them with an experiment. He had a shield put up, which they call *chimale*⁷; it is made of raw skin fastened to a great piece of whalebone often found there. By signs he told them to fire their arrows at it. The most lively and spirited took their bows and fired the arrows at the shield. They scarcely scotched the skin of the shield, and some of the arrows were broken with the force of the impact. The Indians were surprised at this because their arrows were so penetrating and sharp that they usually passed through any animal from side to side. The admiral asked by signs whether they wished to see the force of our arms, because they apparently understood that the *harquebus* was our bow, the *ramrod* was our arrow, and the drawing worm served for a stone. That they should see how powerful a weapon was the *harquebus*, he ordered the ensign, Martín de Verástegui, to fire at the *chimale* an *harquebus* shot, using a plain ball, in order to show the Indians how much farther this penetrated than their own arms.

The ensign went back six paces from the place from which they had fired and discharged his weapon. Not only did the ball pass through the chimale but also the whalebone to which it was attached. The barbarians were surprised and were astonished to see the shot, and asked for a ball to put in the point of a dart. They were given one, and thereupon gave it a blow; at the sound it fell at their feet, they, meanwhile, thinking that the sound of the harquebus was the blow that it gave, and that they could do the same. After this, they became somewhat frightened and their feeling of liberty was repressed, so that they did not dare to take anything more without license. If they took anything, they returned it when ordered to do so. They were asked by signs if there was any river in that country, and one of them, after understanding the question, replied, "Yes." He took a dart and pointing it fixedly toward the west he began to trot, as the Indians do; after making a turn around the camp once and a half times, he pointed to the sun, signifying that at a day and a half of travel of the sun there was a river. By this it was understood that in a journey of one and a half days from there we would find it. The Spaniards took a little salt in their hands and, eating some, they gave the rest to the Indians to taste, asking them by signs where it was and if they had any. They tasted it and gave it to be understood that they did not know it. Then, turning their faces, putting their hands on their cheeks, and closing their eyes, they went away, thus signifying that they were going to sleep.

The admiral says in his letter that the fathers of the company, desirous of understanding the language of the Californians, go about with an inkstand in their hands, putting down the words and noting the pronunciation, when they hear the Indians using some words, in order to learn the idiom. Father Eusebio Kino says they are now beginning to understand it as it is very clear, and that the Indians have all the letters of the alphabet and pronounced our language very distinctly. He says they are very docile, affable and gay, and that the children play and entertain themselves as our people do, with as much friendship and ease as if they had been brought up amongst them. From these beginnings it is hoped that the fathers of the company of Jesus can sow, propagate, and cultivate the Holy Faith among these nations, as they have done and are doing with so much fruit in all the world, particularly in the provinces of Sinaloa, Zamorra, Tierra de Topia, Tepehuanes, Tarahumares, and among other peoples of that kingdom, for the glory of the Christian name, and the augmentation of the Catholic empire.

Almost every day new heathen kept coming, particularly on Holy Thursday, the 15th, when all the Spaniards paid their duty to the church, which they had fabricated with boughs and trees with singular devotion. After communion, forty Indians arrived, many of them different from those seen up to then. On Holy Friday they all came back with a load of wood on

their shoulders. In this they showed their good nature and that they were inclined to be generous to our people, because on the previous day they had seen the corporals ordered to bring it in. That the Spaniards might be gratified by some little thing in return for what they had dispensed, must have motivated the Indians to bring the wood without being asked, because it seemed they did it with good grace. All of them, especially the children, repeated the prayers with a very clear and distinct pronunciation, and crossed themselves in imitation of the fathers, who brought them together and prayed with them, although they did not understand what they prayed. Through the words of the prayers, however, as the apostle to India, San Francisco Xavier has explained, God, in order to help His children materially, works in their souls, softening and mellowing their hearts, just as fire, even without being truly understood, heats and burns when you touch it with your hand.

As a proof of the docility and friendliness with which they went around among our people, Father Eusebio Francisco relates that a good old man began to count in his language, accompanied by signs to show what the words meant, namely, that he had five children and that a very small one had died a few days before. In order to explain that the boy had been buried, he made a hole in the ground and took a stick, which represented the child, and buried it. Thus he consoled himself in having given us to understand his grief; and the fathers were more consoled to see the familiarity with which they conversed, because in this way they recounted and told other personal things which would take a long time to relate.

Apparently their houses or ranches are several leagues within the country, because the admiral ordered some soldiers with their corporal to go inland as far as they could, easily. From a high hill three leagues more or less away, they discovered some smoke, although they could see neither houses nor towns. They saw beautiful plains and a lake in the middle of one of them. The climate is good and pleasant. There are very thick and large forests, and game, such as birds and rabbits, and in time other animals will be discovered in these thickets and forests.

The land and the benignity of the sky seem propitious for all kinds of crops; and already, as they write, they have sowed maize, melons, watermelons, and other seeds which they carry with them, and are persuaded that they can raise good sheep, cows, pigs, horses, etc., on the beautiful plains and the grass which is found on them. The admiral sent us news about all this by the *Capitana*, which arrived in the Puerto de Yaqui of the missions of the company of Jesus. And those on board said that the fathers had sent them a great abundance of everything that they asked for, as this religious body knows so well how to do on such occasions as are offered for the service of God and the king and are conducive to the spiritual good of souls.

Some of the soldiers, for diversion and out of curiosity, went walking on the beach at a good distance from the camp and found some human bones in a cave. They assumed that they used the caves for burials. They also found a piece of a grappling hook, which must have belonged to one of the vessels that were lost in the years '33 and '34 near that port, on Captain Ortega's third voyage to California.⁸ They found some minerals, from which they inferred that there are metals on this island; also many large pearl shells, which are the mothers of pearls said to abound in this great gulf. Up to the present, however, pearls have not been seen, nor do other Indians have any, such as the old accounts of those that saw them enlarge upon. It may be that the people who live on the innumerable small islands, halfway up the gulf to the northwest, may have them, because the natives who fish for the oysters to sustain themselves, keep them and guard them. They also found the skeleton of a whale, so large that one of the jawbones was five yards long.

The admiral, Don Isidro Atondo, like a good Christian, is persuaded that the principal intent of our Catholic king, which has moved him to spend so much on this expedition, was the precious pearls of souls, in quest of which the Divine merchant came to the land. He believes, as he writes, that they first had to search to find *those* pearls, in order to find the other kind which ordinarily the Lord gives for good measure. They are waiting for the horses which the *Capitana* is to bring from the Yaqui, in order to go inland and pass over to the other coast to the Puerto de Santa María Magdalena,⁹ which is distant from La Paz twenty leagues, according to good cosmography. All the island of California, according to modern maps, is 1,700 leagues long from the Cabo de San Lucas to Mendocino, which are northwest southeast from each other; and the widest part—from the Puerto de Francisco Draque, close to Cabo Mendocino, eastward somewhat to the northeast—is 500 leagues. There is a great cordillera of sierras, snow-covered all the year around, which is seen from the South Sea. Will there not be natives in such an extended land, greater than what has been discovered in all New Spain? What fruit cannot be expected from them, by the Mercy of God and the zealous industry of the apostolic sons of the company? Three only are on this first expedition: Father Mathias Goñi, an old missionary of Sinaloa, and Father Francisco Eusebio Quino,¹⁰ renowned cosmographer and mathematician, are in the Puerto de la Paz; Father Antonio Zuárez was to have gone in the sloop, but she went back to Mazatlán dismasted. It is not known whether she has gone on yet or not. These are the three spiritual colonists of this discovery; they go to smooth the entrance for many, who, with the same zeal, desire and ask for the enterprise.

May God our Lord give to our Catholic Carlos—who, at such great cost to his hacienda in times so calamitous for these kingdoms, desires to add to Christ and to the Church—the spiritual and temporal felicity which his

Catholic soul merits, for the Glory of God and the augmentation of the Catholic monarchy.

With license in Mexico by the widow of Bernardo Calderón, in the Street of San Agustín.

NOTES

1. These islands must have been named by one of the preceding explorers in the gulf, but just which islands they were is uncertain.

2. This is probably the inner bay, which had been discovered some time previously, no doubt originally by Cortés himself in 1535.

3. In 1668 Francisco de Luzenilla undertook a voyage to California. The original narrative exists in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, but has never been printed nor translated to the best of my knowledge.

4. The Punta de Porfía was not on the Isla de Cerralvo, but on the mainland farther south.

5. Kino made a map showing the results of this expedition which has been reproduced several times from the original manuscript map in the archives of the Indies. It bears the date 1683.

6. These were not palm trees, but enormous cacti.

7. This word is an Aztec word, borrowed by the Spaniards. The California Indians certainly did not know it under that name, and I do not think it was exactly what the writer intended to say.

8. Captain Ortega's first voyage to California took place in 1632.

9. The bay now called Magdalena.

10. This is a Spanish equivalent of the Italian name, Chino.

Documentary

William H. McKee, Doctor of Medicine, resident in this Port of Monterey.

I certify that on the 22d of the current month I was called to visit a sick foreigner, named Charles F. Cook, who was suffering from *Delirium tremens*, together with inflammation of the brain. I prescribed the medicines proper for his illness, and today I was notified by the alcalde of this place that he had died; and having come to examine the body, I declare that his death was caused by the illness from which he suffered. This statement I make in Monterey on the 25th of June, 1845.

[SIGNED] Guillermo H. McKee [rubric]

A.M., M.D.

Original, in Spanish, in collection of California Historical Society. Translation by Miss Frances M. Molera.

The above document sheds some light on the entry "1846" after McKee's name in the Pioneer Register, which is followed by the surmise that he "possibly came a year or two earlier" (H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, IV, 724); the same author, in discussing Estevan Munrás, says, "One of his daughters married Dr McKee" (*idem*, p. 748). The document also elaborates rather grimly on the bare statement that Charles Cook, a New Yorker who came to California in 1845, "died suddenly at Mont." (*ibid.*, II, 764.)

"General" John Wilson, Signer of the Deseret Petition

Including Letters from The Leonard Collection

By FREDERIC A. CULMER

IN MISSOURI

THE Wilson letters reproduced in the latter half of this paper were written to Abiel Leonard, a former political and legal companion of Fayette, Missouri, and to his wife. They form part of the Leonard Collection, letters and documents which the present writer discovered in the attic of the old Leonard mansion at Fayette in 1929 and which are now in the archives of the Missouri State Historical Society at Columbia, Missouri. The letters are copied here in unaltered form, with no editorial recognition of error in construction, spelling, or punctuation. An occasional explanation appears in brackets.

"General" John Wilson came to Missouri from Virginia about 1820. His father was of English descent; his mother, a member of the Yancey family of Virginia. Wilson settled in Howard County. From July 1827 to the same month of the year 1828, he was the editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer*, published at Fayette, the new county seat since 1824. During the same year he was the appointed circuit attorney for the judicial district of which Howard County was a part.

In politics Wilson was strongly pro-Adams and bitterly anti-Jackson. One writer notes that he was of "violent prejudice and temper." A letter of July 14, 1827, in the Leonard Collection, describes a near-riot that took place at the scene of a barbecue held at Fayette on July 4th, because of an unauthorized political oration, which "teemed with abuse of Adams and laud of Jackson"; and that "then Wilson got up and spoke bitterly." While other men (and some women) tried to pacify the crowd, Wilson "stood surly as a bore, wielding a three-foot cane around his head."¹ Jackson carried every county in Missouri in 1828; thereafter John Wilson's record of public activity is meager. He became a Whig, but turned his attention to the practice of law and to land speculations. Spanish land claims, and those which stemmed from the New Madrid earthquake of 1811, especially attracted him. He once wrote to Abiel Leonard that he had purchased from the heirs a half-interest in a claim to fifteen million acres of land.² He adds that the heirs were pressing him to buy the other half! There is no reason to doubt the statement.

The Whig party was a decided minority in Missouri. By 1838, however, the political horizon had a Whiggish tint. Wilson ran for Congress, and,

like his fellow partisans, was defeated. Two years later Missouri had one of the best tents in the country's Whig political show. But Martin Van Buren carried the state with a majority of 6,228 votes, and the Missouri State Whig ticket was entirely lost. Eight more years passed and now the prospect of a state Whig victory, with Zachary Taylor in the White House, stirred Wilson deeply. His hatred of the "locos"³ did not stifle his appreciation of their successful political strategy in Missouri. He wrote to James S. Rollins, of Columbia, Missouri, on July 14, 1847:

Let no man receive any countenance in the way of office but he that can and does shout the shibboleths of our party; this is the course that proved so potent in the hands of the locos of 1828—in preference to what the leaders themselves thought was right; for most of the loco leaders previous to 1828 had denounced . . . the election of Old Hickory as a curse to the country, but they soon saw the masses moved best under the military banner of glory. . . .

Taylor became president, but he did not win Missouri; Lewis Cass had a majority of 7,406 votes.⁴

The Leonard Collection reveals a wild scramble among Missouri Whigs in 1849 for federal offices. Among the most determined was Wilson. John C. Richardson, a lawyer-politician, wrote to Abiel Leonard on December 11, 1848, that "Gen John Wilson" was at New Orleans. On March 7, 1849, Wilson wrote to Leonard an exceptionally long letter from Washington, D. C.:

On his [Taylor's] invitation I visited his home at Baton Rouge, before he left for here, & there we held full and particular conversations on every political subject which either of us supposed he would be called upon to decide & on no subject did we converse with more earnestness and particularity than we did about the formation of his cabinet. And I must say that his then opinions upon that subject were intirely in a different direction.

The whole letter is a sharp criticism of President Taylor's cabinet. Wilson objects to the geographical distribution of its members—" . . . the great valley of the Mississippi, containing at least 14 out of 20 millions of people, has only one cabinet officer!" He questions the qualifications of the cabinet members, "except in the case of Mr. Clayton [John M., secretary of state]," and he further complains that Taylor should have conciliated the anti-slavery states by his selections much more than he did. Wilson declares that Taylor gave too much weight to the opinions of J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky, and states that he personally charged Taylor with this error. Taylor answered that on the contrary Crittenden had recommended two persons, and that he (Taylor) had refused to appoint them. A letter in the Leonard Collection from John C. Richardson to Abiel Leonard dated December 11, 1848, shows that leading Missouri Whigs were in correspondence with Crittenden over cabinet appointments. The reader may draw his own conclusions. Wilson's attempt to rationalize his criticisms of Taylor's cabinet is suggestive. "It is certainly not in the spirit of alienated feelings or of

disappointment,” he writes in the same letter to Leonard from Washington, “from which I make these declarations.”

At this point the quasi-historical literature of Missouri ceases to be clear. The story is repeated that Wilson decided to emigrate to California in order to better his fortune.⁵ It is written that he went to Daniel Webster and asked for letters of introduction. Webster referred him to Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri, who, according to Webster, had extremely large holdings in California.⁶ But Benton and Wilson were inveterate political and personal enemies, and Wilson at first refused to carry Webster’s note to Benton. Finally, as the story goes, he went to Benton, who received him cordially and gave him letters to influential persons in California, requesting them to show Wilson every attention.

BETWEEN MISSOURI AND CALIFORNIA

Search of contemporary records shows that on page 209 of its issue of April 4, 1849, the *Niles National Register* (Philadelphia) lists Wilson’s appointment as navy agent at San Francisco; and on page 225 of the April 11th edition, his appointment as Indian agent at Salt Lake Agency, California. In the *Register of All Officers and Agents in Service . . . on 30th September, 1849* (Washington, D. C., 1849), page 134, he appears under the heading INDEPENDENT as “John Wilson, agent, California, \$1500 per an.”

Indian Agent to the Utahs and Sho-sho-nies

It seems probable that Wilson obtained his appointment as Indian agent for Salt Lake subsequent to his disappointment in regard to a position in President Taylor’s cabinet. John G. Miller of Boonville, Missouri, wrote to Abiel Leonard under date of April 17, 1849, “. . . A letter from Gen’l Wilson advises me that since I left Washington . . . Mr. Ewing did not promise him that I should have the Indian Bureau, but from his intimations he (W) had no doubt I would get it. . . .”

It is evident that Wilson was dickered with Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, for his Whig friends in Missouri; it would be strange if, since he had decided to emigrate to California, he had not coupled with the plan his own decision to accept a federal position in that area—if he could obtain it, and it was probably through Ewing that he did. The source of his appointment as navy agent at San Francisco is still unknown to the writer.

On April 7, 1849, W. Medill, of the Office of Indian Affairs, sent Wilson his instructions as Indian agent at Salt Lake, California.⁷ So little was known, Medill said, of the condition of the Indians in that region that no specific instructions could be given at the time. The department “relies on you to furnish it with such statistical and other information as will give a just and full understanding of every particular relating to them.” A copy of the late treaty with Mexico was inclosed; also, “copies of the reports of Messrs. Frémont, Emery, Abert and Cook.” In addition, Wilson was to collect in-

formation on a boy, in captivity among the Indians, whose release was demanded by the Mexican minister. (No further mention of this has been discovered.) Medill continues: "The remote position of the scene of your operations has induced the Secretary of the Interior to authorize an advance of one year's salary to yourself and your interpreter, together with other sums for other objects . . . [contingent expenses]." The total amount was \$3,500.

Wilson came back to Fayette to prepare for leaving, and on May 29, 1849, embarked on the S. S. *Algoma* for the first stage of his river journey from Glasgow, Missouri, to Fort Leavenworth, whence he started west on June 5, 1849.⁸

His first report to Secretary Ewing⁹ was written from Fort Bridger, "on Black's Fork of Green or Colorado River," August 22, 1849:

Sir: We arrived here yesterday. Messrs. Vasques and Bridger are the proprietors, and have resided here and in these mountains for more than 25 years. They are engaged as traders, belonging to the American Fur Company. They are gentlemen of integrity and intelligence, and can be fully relied on in relation to any statement they make in regard to the different tribes, claims, boundaries, and other information in relation to the Utah and Sho-sho-nie tribes and a small band of Pummacks, as they have during all their residence been engaged in trade with them.

. . . Nothing whatever will grow of grain or vegetables, but the most luxurious and nutritious grasses will grow with the greatest luxuriance, and the valleys are the richest meadows. [A small part, he says—Cache Valley and part of the valley near Fort Hall—can be cultivated.] How these people are to live or ever exist for any great length of time, I cannot by any means determine. Their support has heretofore been mostly game and certain roots. . . . The Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley has not only greatly diminished their former very great resource of obtaining fish out of the Utah lake and its sources . . . but their settlement, with the great emigration to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will, unquestionably, soon deprive them almost entirely of the only chance they have for food. This will in a few years produce a result not only disastrous to them, but must certainly engage the sympathies of the nation. How this is to be avoided is a question of much difficulty, but it is nevertheless the more imperative on the government not only to discuss but to put in practice some mode of relief for these unfortunate people, the outside barriers or enclosing mountains of whose country are not only covered in their constant sight with perpetual snow, but in whose lodges every night in the year ice is made, over water left in a basin of near seven-eighths of an inch in thickness.

Continuing, Wilson suggests to the Secretary the holding of a great council (of which the Indian chief Washickick approves), and is anxious to hear Ewing's "pleasure on the subject, which I hope will be at an early day after I get to San Francisco, in November. . . . I write this in great haste; and, having broken my spectacles, I have to go it blind nearly. This," he adds, "with the shortness of my stay here, is my excuse for not writing more; but I have touched on all the subjects most important at the present moment. When I get to Salt Lake, I shall have more time and better eyes, and will go more into detail. . . ."

His next communication to the Interior Department¹⁰ is dated September 4, 1849, from Salt Lake Indian Agency, Great Salt Lake Valley (Utah River) — distant, according to Part I of T. H. Jefferson’s *Map of the Emigrant Road from Independence Mo., to St. Francisco* (New York, 1849), 118¼ miles from Fort Bridger. Wilson gives a careful analysis of the area occupied by the “Utahs and Sho-sho-nies,” its mountains, drainage, type of land, etc. He mentions Vasques, “one of the firm of Bridger & Vasques, who reside at and own Fort Bridger,” and states his (Wilson’s) opinion that the territory is too large to enable any one, or even half a dozen agents and their assistants to see their charges otherwise than by a great council. He says, further, that he has always considered it radically wrong to suppose that the untutored Indian is capable of dealing with the Anglo-Saxon race, especially those who have descended from the first settlers of America. He continues:

My idea is, they ought to be treated entirely as wards of the government, and that the execution of the law ought to be confided to the true philanthropist, and not intrusted to the brawling, and often bankrupt politician, who seeks the office, to restore by speculation, out of these uninstructed people, what he has spent in aiding in the political intrigues and caucuses in his township or county; and as soon as he is thus fully indemnified, which he is almost sure to secure in an incredible short time, he leaves them, and instead of teaching them the beauties and benefits of civilization, leaves amongst them disgusting evidences that he has, by his example, encouraged them to continue in their basest immoralities.

The only way in which any such attempt can be made with success, it seems to me, is to call a great council of both nations and see what can be done, and if present policy with other Indians is to be pursued, buy of them such parts of their country as we need, including, at all events, this valley now settled by the whites, its adjacent country, as also a highway through their country, and such places as will be wanted for forts and other public agencies, and agree to pay them in useful implements of husbandry and clothing at the net cost and carriage of such articles, which they should not be allowed to re-sell to any white man; and then send proper men amongst them, who should, out of parts of the annuity coming to them, if any, establish farms—model farms—not models of extravagance in fine buildings and fine enclosures, but plain, simple, and well conducted farms, with inducements held out to the Indians to work upon them, the avails of which to be appropriated to the nations’ [the Utahs and the Sho-sho-nies] use. . . .

. . . I very much question whether their moral condition would in any way be bettered, whilst their physical constitution would unquestionably be enervated in the lazy habits of the herdsman. But, while you may easily and rapidly cause a civilized man to approximate toward the savage life by turning him out a herdsman, alone, to eat the beef he tends for his support, still it will be absolutely impossible to make a civilized man out of a savage by teaching him the idle and lazy employment of herding cattle in a barren wilderness amongst the mountains. There is no employment like that of agriculture, which ties them to a local spot of land, to cultivate the feelings of virtue and social intercourse, which are essential ingredients of civilization even in a savage.

[Wilson reiterates his suggestion of holding a great council of the Sho-sho-nies or Snakes and the Utahs at Fort Bridger “next summer” if approved by the Interior Department. The government could thus become acquainted with their wants and

settle the differences existing between the Indians themselves. The territory is too large, he says, to enable any one, or even half a dozen agents and their assistants to see their charges otherwise than by a great council.]

It might be pointed out here that Wilson's suggestion of "model farms" for the Indians was taken up in 1856 by Col. T. J. Henley, the superintendent of Indian affairs for California at that time, who opened farms as well as reservations, in his efforts to promote Indian welfare.¹¹

The Problem of Deseret

But John Wilson had business other than the Indians to attend to for the government. In the month of March 1849, the Mormons in the vicinity of Salt Lake had formed a provisional constitutional government, giving to their political organization the name of the State of Deseret (the land of the honey bee). Brigham Young was chosen governor. The territory of this state was "that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains." During the Thirtieth Congress, which closed at seven in the morning on March 4, 1849, the three territories of New Mexico, California, and Utah had petitioned for actual territorial government, to no avail. To Sen. John Bell of Tennessee, the situation had its jocular side, which he pointed out to his fellow senators during the debates of April 1850.¹²

. . . The three sisters came here at the last session of Congress; New Mexico the eldest, California next, and Utah the youngest. They came here all soliciting territorial governments. Attempts were made to give them all territorial governments, but they failed. In the meantime, Miss California has made a run-away-match of it—and she has not only done that, but she has taken as large a portion of the common patrimony of the whole as she pleases.

. . . as was asked, on another memorable occasion, "Ye gods, on what meat has our Caesar fed, that he has grown so great?" I believe the meat of California would seem to be gold. . . .

President Taylor, however, was disturbed at this failure. He foresaw the continuance of the bitter struggle over slavery in Congress, and was anxious to prevent the addition of more controversy to that created in the administration of his predecessor, James Polk. He looked with approval upon the proposed creation of these "states" (California and New Mexico), and did not hesitate to express his desire that they should draw up constitutions for submission to Congress. His conviction was that the people of the area should, themselves, determine their domestic institutions.¹³

Taylor must have sensed a peculiar problem in regard to Deseret. This is explained in Brigham Young's letter to "Brother Amasa Lyman" (already in San Francisco), written from Great Salt Lake City on September 6, 1849, in which Young states that an interview had taken place between General Wilson and the signatories of the letter—himself, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards.¹⁴ They had gathered from Wilson "the following particulars: that the President and council of the United States are friendly disposed towards us, and that he (General Wilson) is commissioned by

General Taylor to inform us that he fully appreciates our situation, that he considers we have been unjustly dealt with, and that so far as his power constitutionally extends, he will do us all the good he can. . . .” The plan proposed is to request the California legislature’s consent to a temporary amalgamation of Deseret and Western California, in order to facilitate admission into the Union. “We need not say,” Young continues, “that it will be advisable for you to get Samuel Brannan with the press, and all the influence you can collect around you to carry out your design.”

Brigham Young warns Lyman¹⁵ that “Much has been, may be, and will be said covering the comparative population of this valley and Western California, but what were they, previous to the opening of the gold mines? and what are they now independent of gold diggers?” What he called the Mormons’ “minus population” was the only serious objection to their admission into the Union, independent of Western California. To anticipate a little—the memorial to the California legislature, signed by John Wilson and Amasa Lyman, meets the objection thus:¹⁶

. . . [their constituents] respectfully submit that in addition to the people already settled in the Valley as before stated they have, at or about Kaneshville, in the State of Iowa, somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand people; and that in addition to these, they have on their way to Salt Lake Valley and Basin, from ten to fifteen thousand more from other parts of the world, all of whom are on their way to, know, and intend to claim no home but among their brethren in the Valley and Basin; and from these indisputable facts, they insist, most respectfully, that in substance they have a population of near fifty thousand people, who ought . . . to be counted in effect in deciding the question whether they had enough to justify them in forming a State Government. . . .

From Great Salt Lake to San Francisco

General Wilson, after his conversation with the officials of Deseret, was a long and hard way from the west coast, where its political repercussions were to be tried out. Not only was the way to be hard for him and his family physically, but even more so, for him, temperamentally, because he found it impossible to get along with the commanding officer of his military escort. This he describes in his report (cited in Note 7, above) to Secretary Ewing, dated December 22, 1849, from San Francisco, where he arrived on the ninth preceding. The report has been briefed where not quoted.

Wilson explains that he had selected Bvt. Lieut. Col. Roberts for this command and had gone with him to the sec’y of War, [G. W.] Crawford, to clinch the matter. However, when he reached Ft. Leavenworth, he found that Bvt. Capt. R. M. Morris had been assigned instead . . . “wholly inexperienced . . . wholly unfit.” Under Morris’s charge were a Major Wood & party ordered to Fort Kearney, Maj. Reynolds, paymaster, & party, ordered to Oregon, Mr. Picket [Elder J. W. Pickett?] & family ordered to be transported to California & party, Col. Johnson, sub-agent, also ordered to be transported to California & party—all of these “were placed under charge of Capt. Morris to take advantage of the escort ordered for my transportation; these gentlemen and their parties from time to time had quit the escort, each and all alleging as a reason, Capt. Morris’s incompetency. . . .” Morris, according to Wilson, seemed to want to

"mortify me & my family." . . . Morris's mistakes were "mistakes of his inexperience or his excessive vanity. . . ." Difficulties arose chiefly in Morris using teamsters as guards, those driving for Wilson especially. Morris, Wilson said, was conspicuously partial to "Doctor Birdsall, his daughter and a Mr. Mason [who] had been allowed both by the courtesy of Capt. M. & myself to travel with the train. . . . Doct Birdsall was employed by Capt Morris as surgeon for the train." Lieut. Haynes, assistant to Morris, was also autocratic and was upheld by Morris when he returned from Fort Hall where he had gone for fresh animals in exchange for the train's exhausted ones. Wilson says: "As I did not agree with General Taylor and his Cabinet, to allow him that should be ordered to command my escort, to insult me whenever he chose, I *did* dismiss him. . . ." This was on 26th Sept. 1849.

Wilson's party was caught in a Sierra storm, making it necessary for him "to leave half of my goods and amongst the rest my library which if I had here now would be almost invaluable to me so scarce are Law Books." He asks about being repaid by the government, in case these belongings, which he had brought along "to save us from such enormous expenses as living costs here," could not be retrieved, though he had "*caached*" them as carefully as he could. He considered that \$10,000 would not pay for them. ". . . We reached the settlements in this fix & had to expend many hundreds dollars to reach this city. I am pretty well used up." Then he declares:

"Certain it is no one not even Genl Taylor for whom *you well know*, I have unlimited respect & whom I would go farther to serve than I would any other man, shall not get me to go out under a government escort, again unless, I have the chance to choose or be consulted as to whom is to command. . . ."

They had had to engage a guide. On the waters of Goose Creek, some 200 miles west of the Salt Lake, they met Lieut. Han[?]kins conducting a government train from Oregon to Fort Hall; with him was "a Mr. Joel Palmer who is perhaps the most efficient guide that has travelled the plains . . . employed him at the lowest rate we could, being \$2000 for the trip. . . ." The road was as plain as Pennsylvania Avenue, he [Wilson] said, but the uncertainty was in respect to the grass and water in camping; the grass was pretty well "eaten out."

Concluding, he says: "My late arrival here & other engagements in business you know I have to attend to for the government will not allow me time now to send you a full account of all these as well as other transactions in relation to my official duties, by this Steamer (1st of Jan) but will do so* the next mail. . . ."

The *Alta California* for December 15, 1849, gave a variant of the trouble between Wilson and Morris, under the heading, THE EMIGRANTS TO SAFETY:

It is known to many that the escort under the command of Capt. Morris, U.S.M. Rifles, detailed to accompany General Wilson, the newly appointed Indian Agent, and his family, separated from him at the junction of the Oregon trail with the southern pass, the General determining to take the trail to Goose Lake, and the escort being prevented by special orders from doing so. . . .

General Wilson and "his interesting family" were said by the *Alta* to have arrived in the *Senator* from Sacramento City on Saturday evening; an account then follows of how General Persifer F. Smith "appropriated" government funds for relief of the emigrants, of which General Bennett Riley "cordially approved." The sum of \$100,000 was placed in the hands of Major Rucker, U. S. quartermaster, for purchase of "animals, provisions

*No copy of such a report has been found—because of its confidential nature?

and beeves . . . and Mr. John H. Peoples, the pioneer of the American press in Mexico, was employed as agent of the department and despatched to the assistance of the sufferers.” General Wilson and family were said to have procured a whale boat at Lossen’s [*sic*], and in that conveyance they came down to Sacramento. “. . . The whole country will approve of General Smith’s course in this matter,” said the *Alta*.

Peoples’ report¹⁷ shows that he ran up against a contrary mood in one of “the sufferers.” Perhaps it was a hold-over from his disagreement with Captain Morris, or perhaps (as was evident above in his Missouri days), General Wilson found it easy to be *contrary*, even belligerent. Be that as it may, the peculiarity reappears later in San Francisco, as will be shown. Peoples says in part:

. . . [Nov. 1, 1849] on reaching the East Spring Feather River, the snow having melted somewhat, I unhitched and unpacked the mules, and drove them off to where I knew the grass was too high to be covered. It cleared up in the afternoon and I had hoped that the storm had passed over, but the next morning [Nov. 2, ’49] at 4 o’clock it was coming down heavier than ever.

So soon as we could see, we gathered up our animals and reached the wagons, where I found all the rear of the emigration with General Wilson, family, and escort up there. As soon as I could have the harness cleared of the snow, the mules were harnessed up, and the families started, the drivers having directions not to stop till they reached Feather river valley. After starting the wagons, I urged the emigrants to move on, and also Gen. Wilson. To the General I gave two mules to haul on his family carriage, and argued the propriety of his abandoning his wagons, and packing his mules lightly. He did not agree with me, and that night he lost all his mules in the storm, whilst mine were safely sheltered in the valley.

The Deseret Petition

To reconstruct Wilson’s activities upon his arrival in San Francisco, in carrying out the mission entrusted to him by President Taylor, requires an examination of the authorship of the Deseret memorial to the California legislature, which Governor Burnett called “a communication of great importance,” and which, it will be remembered, Wilson signed. Was he, a man of sixty, who had just come through the harrowing experience of crossing the Sierra in winter, able to make the proper connections with Amasa Lyman and other Mormons in San Francisco, and compose this crucial document in the few days between his arrival and the date of presentation of the petition—January 8, 1850; or was it written by others, possibly at the Salt Lake City headquarters, which seems unlikely from Brigham Young’s letter to Lyman (some twenty-three years younger than Wilson), quoted above. In this letter Young had advised that Samuel Brannan with his press be consulted, and that the delegates collect all the influence they could around them to carry out their designs. But Charles V. Gillespie¹⁸ had no great opinion of Brannan as a writer: “He gave a good sermon,” wrote Gillespie. “He appears to have the Scripture on his tongue’s end but

when he writes it is awful. . . ." And the authors of the *Annals of San Francisco*¹⁹ reminded their readers that a passage in the prospectus of Brannan's paper, the *California Star*, whose first number had appeared on January 7, 1847, gave notice that it would "eschew with the greatest caution everything that tended to the propagation of sectarian dogmas," indirectly though it might be in this case. These same authors, in their entry for August 5, 1849 (p. 233), spoke of Mr. Lyman, a Mormon preacher, as "holding forth at the Institute, on Portsmouth Square." Is it complimentary to say that someone is "holding forth"?

Excerpts from the Deseret petition (briefed where not directly quoted to show the continuity of the argument), follow:

The document describes the remoteness of Deseret geographically but says that "the comforts of civilized, social, and intellectual society are enjoyed; and where agriculture, mechanics, as well as many of the fine arts are cultivated with a devotion that in no community is exceeded. They had hoped that Congress would have provided them such a government at their last session; but in this they were disappointed." Territorial government can alone be created by Congress, but a State government can be created "by the free voices of a majority of the people of the district."

The people of Deseret are aware of the objections that have been raised because of the "boundaries they have assumed"; but the summit of the Sierra Nevada is a natural boundary, dividing California into eastern and western states, being impassable for six months in the year.²⁰ The same can be said of their south and east boundaries; ingress and egress to and from Salt Lake Valley can be had in the direction of San Diego, "and therefore the necessity that the State of Deseret should be extended to the Pacific . . . leaving to our fellow-citizens of West California several good, and one of the finest harbors in the world. . . ."

The petition calls attention to the unwholesome excitement over slavery in the United States. People living in the country newly acquired from Mexico can alone decide whether slavery should be allowed or not; Congress, owing to the division of parties, cannot do it.

The people of Deseret have heard that it is the general opinion of members of Congress and of other persons occupying high places under our government that there are not people enough in all California to form two States; but the people of Salt Lake, the memorial said, were ever ready to sacrifice their own opinions on the altar of public good. Though their constitution was formed in March 1849 and went into force in May 1849, they elected in August and September of that year "delegates to any convention which might be held in California for the purpose of being for a term included in the state to be formed (they had not heard whether any such effort was in progress at all) on the west of the Sierra Nevada. Our constituents will regret to learn that before their delegates did or could arrive here, the Convention had met,²¹ concluded their labors, and adjourned, thereby closing all opportunity, for the time, for their delegates to enter upon the discharge of their duties. . . ."

A "respectable minority of the People of the Valley [are] in favor of Slavery, still a very large majority are opposed to it; and, therefore, the Delegates feel themselves instructed to vote for a provision in the Constitution prohibiting slavery for ever."

If the proceeding of the people of Deseret is objectionable on the score that, "without consulting their neighbors west of the Sierra Nevada, they formed their boundary line, still it is no more a fault than has been committed by the People of California;

and, consequently, if the people of Salt Lake have first set the People of California an example in doing wrong, they at least now set them an example to do right. . . .”

The Deseret petition closes with the assurance that the delegates’ constituents desire to secure the “confidence of our neighbors west of the Salt Lake.”

CALIFORNIA OPINION ON DESERET PETITION

As mentioned previously, Wilson had been a lawyer as well as an editor in Missouri. From his reports sent to Secretary of the Interior Ewing from Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City, quoted above, and his letter of April 11, 1852, transcribed in subsequent pages, it is clear that he wrote with fluency and at times with eloquence. The style of the petition to the California legislature is pleasing, even if the arguments were considered naïve by Gov. Peter H. Burnett and the *Alta*, as will be seen. The senate of the legislature agreed quickly with the governor; in the assembly, although there was a motion to study the matter in a “select committee,” the wiser course seemed to be to lay it on the table.²²

To quote briefly from the governor’s long message²³ to the legislature on the subject:

. . . The reason why the People west of the Sierra Nevada proceeded to form their Constitution without notice to their fellow citizens east of those Mountains is to be found in the difficulty of communication, and in the fact, that the People of West California, knowing the paucity of the population at Salt Lake, were led to suppose that a Provisional Government might be formed there, but did not anticipate the formation of a State Government at so early a day. [The Desereters’ attempt to compare their conduct with that of California is not valid, he said, because the population of California is not so small.]

. . . The people of California, in forming their Constitution, inserted a clause prohibiting slavery, and included within the limits of the State all the country they could properly govern, and thus did all they could with propriety do, to put at rest, so far as their voice could go, that unfortunate excitement. The fact that the people of Deseret did not settle the question of slavery in their constitution, was either their own fault or their own misfortune.

. . . I cannot, in the solemn discharge of the duties imposed upon me by the position I occupy, conscientiously recommend you to accede to the proposition made; nor can I recommend you to make any on your part, having the same end in view. I cannot for a moment believe that Congress will reject our application for admission into the Union, upon the ground that we have not included both East and West California within the limits of the State. But should such an event occur, it would be time enough to consider the question whether the people of this State will compromise their dignity and independence by a compliance with such a humiliating and unreasonable condition.

An editorial in the February 9, 1850, issue of the *Alta* condemned the whole idea. The Desereters were referred to as “the deluded Salt Lake people. . . . It is unnecessary to advert,” the writer said, “to the absurdity of the memorial presented by them; our Legislature have effectually and properly dealt with that.” This is a distinct change of front, and more interesting possibly for that reason, from the issue of December 15, 1849, where the Deseret constitution had been discussed at length and favorably. “In one

respect, at least," said the *Alta* at that time, "the convention which formed the constitution of the new State, has set a good example. They were employed only one week in action upon it, and we do not see but what it is as good a one as some of our States have been able to form after months of deliberation." Then followed the list of convention officers, constitution draughters, and state officials. At the same time the *Alta* pointed out one discrepancy in the Deseret plan of government: "Not a word is said in the constitution about slavery or the Wilmot Proviso, such things not having entered into the imagination of the law-givers as important for their welfare."

The Deseret petition was presented to Governor Burnett on January 8, 1850; his letter transmitting it to the legislature, but distinctly without recommendation, bore the date of February 4, 1850. Meanwhile, in the nation's capital, Zachary Taylor was composing a message to Congress explaining his position with regard to civil government for the area newly acquired from Mexico. It was dated January 21, 1850. To enable Congress, he said, to act with as little difficulty as possible on matters of interest in this area, he had sent the Hon. Thomas Butler King as bearer of despatches to California, and "certain officers to California and New Mexico." He expressed his desire that each division of the new district should form a plan of government, but the persons sent were not to interfere with or influence any election or convention held for the purpose. Regarding the two areas most concerned with the Wilson-Lyman petition, the President remarked:²⁴

. . . The part of California not included in the proposed State of that name, is believed to be uninhabited, except in a settlement of our countrymen in the vicinity of Salt Lake. . . .

No material inconvenience will result from the want, for a short period, of a government established by Congress over that part of the territory which lies eastward of the new State of California. . . .

Had news of what California's attitude would be toward the Deseret petition, because of certain sentiments²⁵ expressed October 10, 1849, during the convention at Monterey, filtered through to Washington?

At the morning session of that day, Francis J. Lippitt of San Francisco, in favor of the Sierra line, advanced two diametrically opposite reasons for not advocating the larger area (that is, extension of the boundary "to the Rocky Mountains"). He said:

" . . . We have no right, sir, to extend our constitution and government over the inhabitants of the Great Salt Lake, comprising some thirty or forty thousand Mormons, who have never been consulted in making this constitution—who have had no representation in this Convention. . . . Suppose they should afterwards accept and ratify our constitution, and consent to come in under our State government. I say, that even then we do not want this great desert. It would be perfectly impracticable to carry on our government over that immense territory. . . ."

J. D. Hoppe of San Jose, speaking ahead of Mr. Lippitt at the same session, may have given the former the cue as to impracticability. Let us exclude the Mormons, whatever we do, he advised. "They would make the taxes of this State burdensome to every man in it; no citizen of California desires that we shall have any social or political con-

nexion with them.” And to pursue the matter of cues—an idea was advanced by a larger-boundary advocate at the Monterey convention which might be considered the progenitor of the Deseret proposition of temporary amalgamation, had we not heard of it earlier at Wilson’s conference with Brigham Young in Salt Lake City. Said this convention member, J. M. Jones of the San Joaquin District, in answer to his own question as to the difficulties that might be suffered by the people east of the Sierra: “We could within one or two years, or even six months, divide them off, and put them into a separate State.”

The influence, or lack of influence, of executive pressure during the constitutional convention was discussed a fortnight or so later by the *Pacific News*, which held that Thomas Butler King had been an aid in forming the constitution; and the *Alta*, which took the opposite view, forcibly, by the device of a kind of double negative. Said the *Alta* of October 18th: “. . . had Mr. King, and a thousand others of equal talents, spread themselves over the country in opposition to the measure, they could not have prevented what is now taking place—the formation of a State Constitution.”

Some six months after his January 1850 message to Congress, referred to above, General Wilson’s friend, for whom, as he wrote to Secretary Ewing on the previous December 22d, “I have unlimited respect & whom I would go farther to serve than I would any other man . . .” and whose daughter was the wife of Jefferson Davis (inaugurated president of the Confederacy in February 1861)—and who was himself a slave-holder, died, while debate raged in Washington on Henry Clay’s compromise measure.

THE WILSONS ENTER CIVILIAN LIFE

What Wilson thought (or, for that matter, what his wife “Ann. R.” thought—a fruitful question, as will appear from her letters that follow) of the Deseret episode, there is no record—at least, none has been found by the present writer. But although he had been dubbed “deluded” by implication in a western journal and buffeted by western storms, he did not lose heart regarding the future. In the letter written to his nephew, Thomas S. Shackelford, on April 12th (cited in Note 2, above), he says that Uncle Peter Lassen “put at me” to buy an interest of one-third in his stocked and equipped ranch. Wilson bought it, and agreed to pay Lassen \$15,000 in five years—nothing before, and no interest. The ranch contained 18,000 acres and was stocked with 800 head of cattle, 250 horses and mules, 200 sheep, between 400 and 600 hogs, 12 wagons, and “a mill & many other affairs. . . . We have laid off a town²⁶ & it is now I am told the county seat . . . it lies right on the Sacramento river at or near the head of stream navigation, water at its lowest stage as good as the Ohio at Pittsburgh.” Once in San Francisco, Wilson entered into a partnership in a vegetable garden near the city. The partnership also took in a large “wash yard” upon a “fine lake of fresh water.” The partners intended to do “a large amt. of washing for the City people,” and expected to clear \$500 per month.

In addition, Wilson engaged in the practice of law. He first took into partnership a "tolerable good lawyer from Alton Illinois by the name of [Hugh C.] Murray. . . ." But Murray became an associate justice of the first superior court of San Francisco.²⁷ Wilson felt that he should have several partners. ". . . we shall have a half-dozen courts *always in session*." The lowest fee for drawing a deed was \$35; the highest was \$100. Fees for suits were ten times as much as in the states, "& plenty of suits at that. I believe I brought 5 or 6 yesterday." Wilson thought he had made enough to "pay my way & pay up what I was behind" at the date of his writing—April 12, 1850.

He speaks little of his work for the government beyond the statement that, "I found my office here in such a loco-foco state [see Note 3] that I felt bound to resolve not to do anything till I could get instructions from Washington; those I could not get till the last of this month, thus the hope of salary etc., were for the present knocked off in that quarter." It was natural consequently that business (and a fortune—why not?) should be his obsession. He had his difficulties. The first rooms they obtained "leaked & wet our beds of a night. We had to sit up, & then if we went to bed it was full of fleas. . . ." Wilson is cheerful about the fleas—"we don't mind them now." Washing cost \$8 per dozen. During the rainy season the women made social calls in a dray, at the rate of \$5 for the first two blocks and \$10 afterwards. Wilson observes: ". . . you can easily see how much your aunt would suffer." And again: "Don't let your aunt know that I have written you this—for we are raising chickens too!!!—for she thinks this is too terrible to be thus engaged in & has . . . caused me to rub it out of my letter to my brother, Wm. sometime ago." The partition walls of the St. Francis Hotel, where they were staying were "cotton cloth hung up . . . then wall paper pasted on it." They could lie in bed "and talk to each other even at a distance of 4 or 5 rooms in ordinary tones of voice."²⁸

The West, According to Mrs. Wilson

The pessimistic note of Mrs. Wilson's first letter set out below, and her determination "not to remain here," are partly explained by these extreme situations. She had established her own social standards in Missouri; these adjustments were painful. The suicide of a young man from New York, some two weeks before she wrote, in the St. Francis Hotel, "whose groans and cries were as shrill in our rooms as in his," probably was a climax to her emotional reactions. Her letter follows:

San Francisco
Feby. 28,/50

My dear Friend

I intended to have written you by the last steamer but just having heard of the death of my father deterred me from writing. I knew that my father was of an age that I might expect it but I still hoped he would live (for me)

to see him again. Mr. Wilson gave Mr. Birch all the particulars of our trip, the many difficulties we encountered and surmounted which I presume you may all have seen therefore I think it needless for me to relate them again. You cannot imagine with what anxiety we have looked for letters from you all but have been grievously disappointed. I have wished often that I never had come to California for several reasons. One is that I am assuredly determined not to remain here, as there is nothing but the gold to make it the least desirable. The country is not an agricultural one therefore it cannot be thickly settled. Another is the expense of living is beyond all calculation. We cannot get board for our family for much under one thousand dollars a month, yet Mr. Wilson thinks he can support us with more ease than in Missouri. The law is a good business here. I suppose from what I can learn of other gentlemen of the Bar that Mr. Leonard with the reputation he has at home could easily make one hundred thousand dollars in a year. A gentleman by himself would not spend more than 5 or 6 thousand. There are many made fortunes and gone home. All the old settlers are returning home with immense fortunes.

The bay of San Francisco is beautiful,—the scenery picturesque all around the bay. San Francisco is rapidly growing to a populous city, yet I do not think as many do that it will rival New York. New York has a country to support it as well as commerce—this place must depend upon commerce alone if the gold proves to be inexhaustible as many suppose it. This or some other place on the bay is bound to be a considerable city.

As to climate as far as I have seen of it I must say I think it to be the worst in the world. It has been raining [see Note 17] ever since we have been in the country except a week or ten days. Ladies could not get out until a few days back. We have had but one call—that is by a lady that is said to be the head of society—a very interesting pleasant lady from New York. Has been to China—when she gets back home will have been around the world [see Note 18]. As soon as it ceases raining the wind commences blowing at 2 o'clock every day and blows at about what seamen call half a gale until 12 at night. The nights are sufficiently cool to lay under four blankets—the mornings are so warm that they are almost insupportable—from ten in the morning till 2 in the evening, then for your winter clothes. I have been told that it is much colder than the winter weather. The houses are built without chimneys—no fires used only for cooking. All the wood that is used is packed on mules' backs—about as much as you would put on your fire in your bedchamber at one time, they ask 3\$ for.

I hope the contemplated rail road is fast progressing—the country that we passed over is well adapted to the construction of the road until the latter part after crossing the Sierra Nevada—it is mountainous and it would be difficult to surmount many difficulties that are in the way. Up the Platte will be the finest country in the world for laying the rail road. The course

of the river is nearly east and west, the river is wide and shallow, bottom sandy, the current rapid and changeable which will forever prevent it from being made navigable. Sand bars are formed today which will occupy another place tomorrow. The water is just like the Missouri at the muddiest time. I was much disappointed at coming to the Marys or Humbolt—found it small and insignificant, course very winding, not sufficient water for a canoe, but like the Platte will be fine for the construction of the rail road and I believe does not overflow.

We came down the Sacramento farther than any ladies ever did before, the Sacramento like the Humbolt was serpentine in its course till you get within 2 or three hundred miles of this place—it accumulates its waters and is one of the most beautiful and majestic rivers I ever saw. Unfortunately for the Valley it overflows its banks and consequently the country is very sickly. Sacramento City is also rapidly improving. I have often doubted whether this acquisition of territory was beneficial to the Union or not when I have witnessed such a destruction of life and property as I have. I could not make you believe by writing how much property was lost and how many have come to an untimely grave by coming to this country. I would not say to any person Come for fear that they would not succeed as there will be hewers of wood and drawers of water but I do say if any of my friends or acquaintances are coming tell them not to bring females and to come as lightly loaded as possible. The destruction of property on the overland rout is not all. The bay is filled with 300 vessels that have necessarily to be abandoned, as the captains cannot get sailors to leave this port unless at an expense greater than they can buy a vessel for in New York. Consequently the bay is filled with vessels that will be sacrificed for very little.

It would take me a month to tell you all I would like to say to you. You know well my feelings towards you are of the dearest kind. You must wait till a future time for something more interesting. I hope to be better satisfied than I now am when I have seen more of the country. Mr. W. and the children unite in sending with me their very best love to yourself and all the family.

Give our love to all our enquiring friends and as many as will write to me I will promptly answer them. Tell Martha that Mary Eliza has written to her and enclosed a specimen of gold, tell her if she was here she could get 1200 dollars a year for playing on the melodion. Give me all the news from the time we left. John Williams is here, he says all the Howard boys are well. John looks very hearty, has made more than a thousand dollars and seems inclined to take good care of it. There is not much interest paid to education yet there are persons here well qualified to teach, but speculation is all the theme. Mr. [indecipherable] principal in Bishop Doan's school in

Burlington is here. I hope when the weather gets settled he may be induced to take up a school. His lady is one of the gayest in the city.

My love to all yours, Affectionately Ann. R. Wilson.

Public and Private “Indignation”

The year 1850 saw Wilson partaking of prominence in a municipal way. On Monday evening, June 3rd, he was appointed president of a public “indignation” mass meeting in Portsmouth Square, said by the authors of the *Annals of San Francisco* to have been “the largest that had ever assembled in San Francisco for any purpose.”²⁹ Resolutions were adopted protesting against the high salaries paid city officials and the oppressive taxation. A committee of twenty-five, of which Wilson, Capt. J. L. Folsom (chairman), and W. D. M. Howard were members, was appointed to call upon the council and convey the resolutions passed at the meeting. But Wilson’s at times bellicose temper, with which the reader has become familiar, got the better of him while presiding at the second meeting on the following Wednesday (June 5th), during which the *Alta California* of the next morning claimed that a gross injustice had been done to itself:

General Wilson, the President of the meeting commenced by stating that the meeting of Monday evening had been denominated in an editorial in a morning paper as a “mob” and by another paper called almost as ill a name. Upon this hint he spake and endeavored to make a great deal of capital and get off a very large amount of small wit and puerility, seeking most strenuously to make the people believe that we sought to sneer at their remonstrance against the acts of the Council. This was manifestly placing an unpardonably wrong construction upon our language.

In our first notice of the meeting, which appeared in our issue of Tuesday morning, not one single word occurred which could have given offence to the thinnest skinned or most mealy mouthed person present . . . we recommended a calm, deliberate and earnest remonstrance, and reprobated the groans and hisses, with which the aldermen were favored by a procession, as insulting and mobbish in their character—having no reference whatever to the meeting in the square. . . .

Concluding, the *Alta* struck out with a final blow aimed at Wilson and his co-speakers, who, the editor (E. C. Kemble, or perhaps J. E. Durivage) held, “could not injure us by their attacks any more seriously than General Tom Thumb, and we should dread an onslaught from the last mentioned pigmy quite as much.”

Mrs. Wilson as Society Commentator

But these uncomplimentary remarks about her husband seemed to slide easily off Mrs. Wilson’s mind (from practice?), if one may judge by the cheery, gossipy mood of her second letter which follows. Neither did the “great fire of June 14, 1850 . . . the greatest conflagration that has yet afflicted our ill-fated city . . .” as an undated, untitled issue of the same newspaper (presumably) called it, disturb her enough to elicit even a passing comment. Besides, six months in San Francisco had tempered Mrs. Wilson’s attitude; letters from Missouri heartened her; she had made some

desirable acquaintances. Parties for the young folks bored her somewhat, but she had developed her own social appreciations. Wealth and its evidences impressed her—apparently California did have some things that were lacking in Missouri. She hopes that her wealth will some day enable her to send or bring to Missouri some beautiful items which reached California from the Orient.

St. Frances, San Francisco,
August 15th. [By reference, 1850.]

To Mrs. Abiel Leonard,
Fayette, Missouri.

Dear Friend: I rec'd. your very welcome letter in due time which made me with you for a time in imagination but alas! those transports of pleasure are of short duration when we call to mind the great and almost insurmountable distance between us. I sympathize with you in the loss of your friends—the charge that is added to your family will make some care for you, but I know of no-one who I think will feel it less. I know your generous disposition so well and your great management of your family arrangements warrants me in thinking so. But the charge of little girls is a great charge—we that have had experience well know. I often sigh to be again at my own quiet little home, with my friends around me again. There is too much bustle in San Francisco for me at this advanced stage of life [she was forty-eight!]. For instance this is the only hotel at present where respectable ladies are taken in. So the gentlemen that are fond of female society must have a party about once a month. My daughters [Mary E. and Susan] are boarders and like all young persons they want to be in society. In San Francisco I would as soon think of them having their heads taken off as going anywhere without me, so that I am forced to go a good deal more than I have any desire. The last party that was given at the St. Frances was given by the Proprietor to the lady boarders. If you are in the habit of reading the Picayune or the Delta you will see a description of it written by one of the ladies of the house. She gets 100\$ a month for corresponding with the papers. She intended to establish a school here, but finding such a confused state of affairs she cannot succeed.

We have just had a wedding amongst us. One of the most magnificent affairs I ever witnessed. Her bridal fixings cost more than 2000\$. It was no other person than a rich widow with her neat income of 75 thousand dollars a year. Her dress was white watered silk handsomely embroidered, cost 150\$ thread, veil 250\$, pocket handkerchief 200, gold comb \$175, fan 30, diamond brooch \$600, diamond ring 400, watch 6,(?) & lastly the bridal bed-bedstead of brass which is very handsome rich and elegant, white satin damask counterpane, pillow cases and very full curtains the same material was five dollars a yard and I suppose not less than a hundred yards. So you see that people that have money can have fine things here as well as anywhere else.

I have made the acquaintance of a very pleasant lady Mrs. Galespie [Mrs. Charles V. Gillespie]. Her husband and herself have lived 7 years in China. His health was rather bad in China and he concluded to come by San Francisco in going home to N. York. When he got here Mr. G. saw an opportunity of engaging in business profitably. That was before the gold discovery. He made a purchase of some property which has risen in value and made him immensely rich. They have built a handsome house and have furnished it very handsomely. The parlor has a very fine rich carpet, the chairs are covered with different colored velvet, some dark crimson and some light. The curtains are rich dark crimson satin damask lined with plain white satin. Very rich cornice gilt, the cornice all around the sealing of the same. The walls are as white as snow and the gilt cornice makes the rooms look fine. White marble center table. In each corner of the room she has large china vases 2 feet high for flowers. This is Chinese style. And lastly some very handsome same of the most beautiful paint I ever saw, and the Chinese ornaments are very beautiful. I hope to get rich enough to send you all some even if I do not come myself and bring them.

It is quite a curiosity to sit and look out upon the Plaza and see the great variety of people and languages that are here. The Chinese, the Malays, the Hindoos, the Turks, the New Zealanders, the New Hollanders, the Tahitians, and Sandwich Islanders, and from every country in South America. You may truly say it is well to be cautious whom you associate with.

I have not heard from Micajah [a son; see Note 34] for some time. There are various reports from the mines. Some say they are doing well this season—others say they are not. The emigrants are coming in very early this season—they report great suffering. There has been several relief parties going out to meet them, both publick and by contribution of the citizens. I heard a gentleman say that enough had been sent out as far as the Humboldt to relieve 100000 persons.

I saw a gentleman of Miss White's acquaintance since. . . . He objected to her style of playing—said her friends had used every effort to make her change—but could not—said it was peculiar to herself. It was the nephew of General Hopkins and he requested to be remembered to her. He has been promoted—now Judge Hopkins. I send this by private hand or it would not be worth sending. Give my love to all my friends separately tell them I often think of them and would like to know when I could say to you all when I shall be home but I cannot. Tell Mary I hear she is a great Bell—tell us when she is to be married etc. etc.

Your affectionate friend,

A. R. Wilson.

Tell Aunt Lydia and Betty and all howdy. There has been the greatest number of professional gentlemen arriving here every steamer lately, I ever heard of. They seem to have taken the hint. I fear there are more than will

do well. There has been some distinguished lawyers amongst them. Immigration to this country this year will be larger than the emigration. Foreigners are getting afraid of the Americans.

The West, According to General Wilson

"I know you have all thought me too sanguine a temperament etc.," Wilson had written to Thomas Shackelford in his letter of April 12, 1850, cited above, "but I shall risk the allegations. . . ." The boys' kites in California even flew "to double the height they do in the states." Occasionally his language has an imitative approach to the grandiloquent. "Then here is the carcass," he bursts out, "that the whole world, ever since the days of Noah have been in search of & the same thing too, that all men on earth Jew, & Gentile, Mohammedan or Christian will seek & will have if within his reach—here it is within his grasp only let him push forth his hand & clutch vigorously—his it will be if within his reach—his it must be." One may be sure he did not exclude himself from the category of "seekers."

An interlude in the fortunes of San Franciscans, the "Gold Bluffs piece of business," was caused partly by this sanguine *gene* in Wilson's make-up. It occurred in the winter of 1850-51 when General Wilson, John A. Collins (secretary of the Pacific Mining Company, formed to exploit the "discovery") and a band of prospectors on the steamer *Chesapeake* came upon what was considered a fabulous amount of gold in the black sand along the beach near the mouth of the Klamath. It is not difficult to picture Wilson's excitement at the find—the *Alta* reported³⁰ him saying, "thousands of men cannot exhaust this gold in a thousand years"; nor his disappointment when it was conceded that although there was considerable gold at the base of the Bluffs, "it turned out in the end to cost more trouble to gather than it was worth."³¹ The January 17, 1850, edition of the *Alta*, which up to this time had seemed to think of Wilson as its accredited prey, had this to say in extenuation of the affair: ". . . the exploiters are all honorable men, and are the last in the world to attempt any deception upon the public . . ." and on the eighteenth the editor argued that "it might turn out a failure, but 'nothing venture, nothing have'." This confidence in his honesty must have been shared by Wilson's fellow townsmen, for before the year was over he was elected a member of the school board, among whose duties were the erection or purchase of buildings for school purposes, the choice of a superintendent of schools, etc.³²

Even after the set-back at Gold Bluffs, Wilson was able to say in the letter to Abiel Leonard dated April 11, 1852, which follows: "The truth is there is no known, or by man conceived, limit. There is gold everywhere & in every place." But the reader will be relieved when he hears of Wilson's swing toward agriculture: "In its agricultural capacity," he writes, "our soil in point of richness & depth is entirely beyond all you know . . ."

San Francisco,
11th April, 1852.

A. Leonard Esqr.

Sir: There is a song that sings that auld acquaintance should neer be forgot, & to show that so far as we are concerned I have abided by the injunction,— We have today (as well as many others) such a day as you have never seen or felt nor ever will see or feel till you come to California. A portion of our family are gone to church (where we all ought to be) my wife & myself are left at home enjoying a serenity, calmness, sublimity of atmosphere nowhere else to be felt, with a view from our verandah for its extent, for its variety of scenic matter with all the city, all the shipping, all the bay, (75 by 15 miles) all its islands, making in all one of variety, extent of life and beauty that can nowhere else be seen in the U. S. . . .

This is at last the great enquiry of life, what consolation will all our jostling & if we have any to boast of, our successes with the world afford us, when we shall be only immortal and put off (as we will very soon do) this mortality? You were wont as I have thought at some . . . periods to be somewhat skeptical. I trust you are not so now. I never was, but what better am I than you, believing & not doing, while you acted no worse than me (except in the fact you used to try to persuade yourself to be skeptical). This shall suffice as to this matter. Let neither of us forget so great a work. This comes from one who knows that his kind recollections do not deceive him when he says he is your friend.

We are all well & have generally been so since we came to California. I lost my son Wm. Henry last fall with Disentary, caught in the mines where the necessary mode of living leads to the encouragement of that disease. As to health this state truly surpasses all the rest. Indeed in the other states we know little or nothing about a healthy country where we do not know this. Allow me to assure you that language cannot describe the difference—you must come here & see & feel & enjoy for yourself. . . .

And all this would be plain to you in 15 minutes were you here just to enjoy it on our verandah. So clear is the air that looking at a man on a hill say 40 or 50 feet above you he seems to be 10 feet high. All the amazing stories of the richness of our mineral resources that have ever reached you, no odds how much they seemed to be exaggerated, are as far below the truth as the hill you live on is below the Sierra mountains. The truth is there is no known, or by man conceivable, limit. There is gold everywhere & in every place. It is one of the prominent and abundant materials of which our earth our rocks and our seashore are composed. There is no possibility of man making any guess about it that can be put down as a rule to determine its quantity. That intelligent man who has passed over these high mountains, broad and beautiful vallies, our deep Canadas (pronounced canyethas) (deep ravines) [Wilson's parentheses] & has found it at every step almost he has taken; as I have done will not be surprised at anything

on that subject which may happen were even a whole mountain mostly being formed of gold to be discovered. Why any cause for surprize? Such have been found of granite, and of limestone, & why not of gold? The same almighty hand has formed both to carry forward his wise and useful ends and why the gold here? Look around you & see where the great user of gold *commerce* is to concentrate itself in this greatest of all ages for the prosperity of commerce. When all nations are going into it to rival each other in that particular instead of fighting, where I ask you is it most convenient to concentrate & to make it central to all the world? 500 millions in China and 300 millions in Europe and America! Where can they meet on terra firma so well as here, and then God who knew this from eternity ere man was made in the natural order of his providence made these things to fit. This is the nighest spot to the benighted millions of the east that for thousands of years have secluded themselves to indulge in their superstitions and idolatry, & God in his providence has been paving the way for their enlightenment & commerce of nations will do it & gold is its efficient and necessary agent & here it is placed to be at hand.

Then let us have the railroad across the plains (when you and Mrs. L. can come & stay with us one week & and be at home again at the end of three from the time you left home) & if there is any limit to the gold it will be found out. *There is none.*

In another thing you are greatly deceived. You underrate our country,—I mean the people who have not been here. In its agricultural capacity our soil in point of richness & depth is entirely beyond all you know, & if my memory serves me correctly when you & P. R. H. Wells, Charley Finch, Judge Todd, Doniphan Wood, Clarke Ryland, and Reynolds Davis and me used to travel the upper region of the Mo. we thought we saw some good land. But here I can only describe it as the boy did the jackass—he said it was like a mule—“only more so.” So here it is more so even to the very tops of the Sierra where I have seen with my own eyes & handled with my own hands (not lifted to be sure) trees over 25 feet in diameter, which cannot grow without soil. The naked truth is all our soil valley hill & mountain, is as rich and deep as any you have ever seen, & far by far more productive. It is no idle tale to tell that our bushel of wheat will produce 100 for the first crop 50 for the second and 25 for the 3rd without sowing the last two times. As to vegetables it were impossible for you to have any just notion of them—I have eaten of turnips that weighed 18 to 20 pounds—seen beets weighing 60 pounds & cabbages & Irish potatoes to match. This latter you have seen none so large or so fine. Our soil is easily cultivated. These crops of wheat I speak of are raised by the wheat being sown on the prairie broadcast on the grass never having been worked or ploughed before, & just ploughed in, & nothing more done till we reap it.

We have on our ranch this year 300 acres in wheat and barley. The whole ranch is covered with wild oats & so for the most part the whole state and

produces for the most part more oats than you get off the fields you sow. But you ask how do you raise crops when you have not a drop of rain from the 10th of April. to 1st of Nov? Experience has shown that wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, parsnips, carrots & such like need no more for one crop a year—if you want two or three of the root kind you can easily have them by having water to irrigate your land. So for taking low lands all vegetables will do well for one crop without irrigation. How this will continue when our land gets old with much cultivation I do not know—the Mexicans never cultivated enough to try this matter.

All the whole country produces one crop of *grass* where the oats do not root it out equal to any crop now raised on your meadows. If you have irrigated land of course you have a chance to mow 5 or 6 crops a year, & in fact can produce a perpetual round or succession of crops upon irrigable land. Therefore I consider irrigable land most valuable. On our ranch 15 miles square, or rather 5 Spanish leagues square, we can with 2000 cost irrigate every acre all the season—we have the water turned in ditches wherefrom we can at will cover several thousand acres & much more than we can cultivate—where laborers cost 60\$ and 70\$ per month and found—the barley now brings 12 ½ cents per pound and each acre will bring from 80 to 100 bushels. I do not know how much a bushel weighs. Wheat brings about eight cents a pound. Our whole ranch is one continued plain covered with oats—clover and grasses fine & nutritious to be mowed for hay if we want it. It looks like an old orchard with now and then a large branchy live oak making a shade for your stock in a warm day. It contains about 100000 acres being the most lovely plain you ever saw with just inclination to drean off to the river, & when I bought into it, which was the next day after I got into the country, and the first ranch we came to or ever saw in California, it contained about 1000 head of cattle (as represented) say 700 or 800, 250 head of horses, as many sheep etc. & I agreed to give \$15000 payable without interest in 1855, first day of Jany. for one third of the whole. We think our crop will bring 25 to \$30000 this year. We hope to double that the next year. But hopes in these matters I have been taught by sad experience to doubt, but still it looks fair enough. If all works right as we have fair reason to believe it will why I shall be in the point of dollars & cents better than to have stayed in Mo. But it is proper for me to say to you here that were this & all the gold in California offered me to go through what me and my family have had to go through I would not come again knowing the same was to happen to us—to come now is a very different matter.

My professional prospects are tolerably fair. I have by no means been as successful here in that as you would have supposed that I would, knowing my diligence in the matter. For here a very different sort of practise is followed. Corruption, bribes and subordination [subornation] of judges and witnesses has undoubtedly disgraced this country and its judiciary, &

many lawyers have been securing business by stating to clients they had an arrangement with the judge that he would decide for them their cases. I have absolutely lost more than a dozen of clients in the last 5 or 6 mos. who were my devoted friends. They would come and tell me such a lawyer informed them he was in secret partnership with the judges & for that reason they would try them. As might be expected they are beginning to come back again saying they were deceived. We know there has been large and many bribes given—one honest judge could not be bribed—had often been tried—unfortunately got into a wild frolick & went into a bawdy house & to one of the inmates executed his note for a sum he could not pay & those who wanted a corrupt judge on the bench induced the filthy creature to threaten to expose him & then they stepped in and offered him 160000\$ to resign—he took it, paid his note, left the country with shame and disgrace but still more honest than any he left behind.

These causes have forced me to stand back and in fact to be disgusted with the practice where you know your case was to be decided by money & not by the law. These disgraces are beginning to wear off & these filthy incumbents will soon all be cleared out. Most of them are gone already and honest men are taking their places & my chances are better. I am now more active than I was 15 years ago. It will do you and Mrs. L. good just to step over & see us. None could come we should be more glad to see. Our greatest trouble in living here is the want of one or two servants. [Missourians referred to their domestic slaves as "servants."] With them now we could live easier than we ever could, & would be entirely content, if they & our neighbors & relatives were here. No one can tell the loss of these but those who came to California in 1849. All our family heartily join in greeting to you & all of yours & I tender you the sincere congratulations & kind regards of an old & true friend.

John Wilson.

Wilson's paradoxical characteristics are illuminated by the fact that more than two months before he wrote the letter set out above, he had written a letter to President Millard Fillmore at Washington, in which he applied for the position of commissioner to China. He closes his letter by saying, "I need some office of the kind to support my family." George Tingley and Frank Soulé, members of the California legislature, addressed President Fillmore in Wilson's behalf one week later, January 28, 1852. No action appears to have been taken in response to these letters, according to advices dated February 6, 1947, from Marcus W. Price, director of the National Archives, to the present writer.

From this point on, only three sources supply us with information about John Wilson—the San Francisco directories, one of the land grant cases, and the newspaper account at the time of his death in February 1877. The information about Mrs. Wilson, so far as this writer knows, is most regrettably limited to the fact, cited above in Note 2, that she survived him and that in 1878 she was seventy-six.

The directories are helpful in the matter of Wilson's law partners and amplify his own statement, mentioned previously, that in January 1850 he had gone into practice with “Murray” from Alton, Illinois, but that the latter, a Democrat, had become, as Wilson termed it, a judge of “the superior court.”³³ After Murray, Wilson was associated with Calhoun Benham and James (?) Rice in the firm of “Wilson, Benham & Rice, counsellors,” as shown in Kimball's 1850 directory. He is not listed in the 1852 city directory, but from 1854 until 1858, when his son Micajah D. joins him for that one year only, he is given as practicing without a partner. Micajah had been considered too young up to that time, and therefore he had gone with William H. Wilson, another son, to the mines.³⁴ In 1862 William H. Letcher joins Wilson as practicing attorneys, and they are listed together also in the 1863-64 edition; but after that, until the general's death in 1877, he appears to have carried on his law work without a partner.

As for information from the land grant litigation, it is meager and consists merely of a notice on page 303 in the file of Case 129 ND, to the effect that Wilson, as attorney for A. J. Pitman and others, owners of the Rinconada del Arroyo de San Francisquito grant, would object to the survey, which took off, the notice said, about 900 acres from the eastern and southeastern end of the Buelna tract. The document, which is undated, is addressed to Wilson's former partner, Calhoun Benham, U. S. District Attorney; as Benham, a Whig, was appointed by President Buchanan whose term expired in 1861, the dating would fall within the four years 1857-61, but since page 291 of the same file (the pagination does not conform to the calendar) states that the decree of the court of April 13, 1861, approved the survey, the date of Wilson's notice *might* be narrowed to the few months preceding the close of Benham's incumbency.

The third source of information on Wilson, subsequent to the above, is an account bearing the caption, “Death of John Wilson,” in the Saturday edition, February 3, 1877, of the San Francisco *Chronicle*. His death is announced as having occurred on Thursday evening at Suisun, and the article continues:

He was one of the oldest of the San Francisco bar, and celebrated his eighty-seventh birthday at his residence, No. 402 Fremont Street, last week. He emigrated from the State of Missouri in 1849, where he was a prominent politician and an old-line Whig. He came across the plains under an escort of troops, as Commissioner to the Territory of Utah.³⁵ In 1850 he continued his journey to California under an appointment from President Taylor.

One wishes that the imaginative and articulate, though sometimes touchy, editor of the *Alta* of the early 1850's had been on hand to say it differently, somehow.

NOTES

1. W. V. N. Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1878), p. 561; F. A. Culmer, “California Letter of John Wilson, 1850,” *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXIV (Jan. 1930), 200; also, by same author, “Power, Pawns, and Politics in Mis-

souri" (bound MS in Central College Library, Fayette, Mo.), pp. 17-18; North Todd Gentry, *Bench and Bar of Boone County, Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1916), p. 54. G. W. Read and Ruth Gaines, editors, *Gold Rush Journals . . . of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York, 1944), II, 1296, cite this published letter of Wilson, and unpublished letters of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson from which they quote certain passages. "General" Wilson's military record may be found in Annie Walker Burns Bell, comp., *Pensions Abstracts; Soldiers of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Indian Wars Who Settled in Missouri* (Washington, D. C., 1938). When discharged in 1815, Wilson seems to have attained, so far as this record shows, the rank of orderly sergeant in a company raised in Augusta Co., Va.; bounty land warrants information is given, also that he had been married twice previously, and that his marriage to Ann. R. Pulliam (who, at the time of her statement in San Francisco in 1878, was seventy-six), occurred in Saline Co., Mo., Nov. 27, 1824. In a letter from Mrs. Wilson from San Francisco she speaks of her husband as "General John Wilson," with no explanation as to how he obtained his rank. This writer is indebted to Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, for the above information. (It might be added that he is listed simply as John Wilson, attorney-at-law, in the San Francisco directories, except in 1856 where he appears thus with no residence indicated, and again as "Gen. John Wilson," residence cor. Harrison and Fremont, the usual address, without notation as to profession other than the military title.—Ed.)

2. Culmer, "California Letter . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 200. New Madrid, Mo., was laid out in 1788 by Col. George Morgan, to whom, late in 1787 and for political reasons, Don Diego de Gardoqui, Spanish minister to the U. S., had granted a large tract of land on the right bank of the Mississippi. Conditions did not suit the settlers, and when severe earthquakes occurred in Dec. 1811 and Jan. 1812, they commenced a general exodus.

3. Short for locofocos (spelled with or without a capital), a term applied to members of a faction of the Democrats (and later applied by Whigs to any Democrats), at whose meeting in 1835 the regular or Tammany Democrats put out the lights, whereupon the meeting proceeded by candle and locofoco light. A locofoco (or self-lighting cigar) had been invented in New York the year before. Under "Political Changes at Washington [Nov. 5, 1849]," the *Alta California* of Jan. 12, 1850, announced that "All Locofocos are to walk the plank," saying that an attempt was being made to drive out of the cabinet "certain persons who are exceptionable to certain Whig cliques and bring in others." In California (with one exception under a Know-Nothing, J. Neely Johnson, 1856-58), the Locos were in office from Peter H. Burnett, 1849-51, through John G. Downey, 1860-62, when the Republican Leland Stanford became governor, 1862-63.

4. Wilson to Rollins (in Leonard Collection); F. A. Culmer, *A New History of Missouri* (Mexico, Mo., 1938), p. 240; "Abiel Leonard," by same writer, *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (July 1933), 317; Edward Stanwood, *History of the Presidency* (New York, 1898), p. 243.

5. See the story as told in Walter B. Stevens, *Missouri—the Center State* (Chicago & St. Louis, 1915), II, 418.

6. Probably Benton's son-in-law's (John Charles Frémont's) Mariposa Estate, of about 70 square miles; a grant originally made to Juan B. Alvarado, and purchased by Frémont in 1847. See J. Ross Browne, *Resources of the Pacific Slope* (New York, 1869), pp. 21-35.

7. In 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Ex. Doc. 17, pp. 182-84.

8. *Glasgow Weekly Times*, May 31, 1849; John Wilson to Hon. Thomas Ewing, San Francisco, Dec. 22, 1849 (photostatic copy in Bancroft Library); Kate Gregg, "Boonslickers in the Gold Rush to California," *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XLI (July 1947), 350. Wilson's wagons and belongings had gone overland to Fort Leavenworth.

9. Wilson’s report from Fort Bridger is given in 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Ex. Doc. 17, pp. 184-87.

10. Report from Great Salt Lake, *ibid.*, pp. 104-112. On page 105, Wilson says of the Mormons: “. . . the Latter Day Saints, who will soon spread . . . to Bear river. . .” His plan for model farms appears on pp. 109-10. No subsequent report by Wilson on Indian affairs can be found by this author. On Sept. 16, 1850, Adam Johnston, sub-agent, wrote from San Francisco to Orlando Brown, commissioner of Indian affairs at Washington, D. C., on the tribes and languages of the California Indians (see 31st Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 122-26). As to the Utahs and Sho-sho-nies, Major Jacob H. Holeman makes an official report as Indian agent, Great Salt Lake City, to Brigham Young, superintendent of Indian affairs, Utah Territory, dated Sept. 25, 1852 (see 32d Cong., 2d sess., House Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 439-45; Young’s own report appears on the preceding pages, 437-39.) Wilson seems not to have functioned, at least in a documentary way, in fulfilling the duties of navy agent at San Francisco.

11. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 491.

12. Sen. John Bell, in *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856* (New York, 1861), XVI, 502.

13. Zachary Taylor’s message to Congress, 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Ex. Doc. 17, pp. 1-4.

14. For transcript of Brigham Young’s letter to Amasa Lyman (a man some twenty-three years younger than Wilson), see Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892), I, 408-410. He advises Lyman not to attempt to settle too much in a constitution; also, in his view, the suggested amalgamation should be dissolved at the commencement of the year 1851. An idea of Young’s style of writing can be formed from his “The Settlement of the West,” in *Discourses of Brigham Young*, ed. by John A. Widtsoe (Salt Lake City, c1925), pp. 722-43.

15. Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

16. *Journal of the California Senate*, 1st sess. (San Jose, 1850), App. K, p. 438. During the debates at the preceding Monterey convention, Edward Gilbert, San Francisco District delegate, said he didn’t believe the population figures that had been emanating from the area east of the Sierra. J. Ross Browne, *Reports of the Debates in the Convention of California . . .* (Washington, D. C., 1850), p. 455.

17. John H. Peoples’ report to Bvt. Major D. H. Rucker, in 31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, p. 120. See also Culmer, “California Letter . . .” *op. cit.*, p. 202; Read and Gaines, *op. cit.*, I, 259. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), p. 361, says of the 1849-50 precipitation: “. . . It was one of our wettest seasons. The rainfall that season as shown by the rain-gauge kept by Dr. Logan at Sacramento City, was upward of thirty-six inches.” The average seasonal precipitation for Sacramento is 18.02 inches, according to the San Francisco office of the Weather Bureau; for San Francisco, 22.10 inches, or roughly 4 inches more. The excessive amount, spoken of by Mrs. Wilson in her letter of Feb. 28, 1850, as having fallen in San Francisco, can be placed at about 40 inches—obviously difficult for the newcomers.

18. Charles V. Gillespie, “Statement on the Vigilance Committee (MS in Bancroft Library), p. 2. Gillespie, a native of New York, arrived with his wife in San Francisco on Feb. 2, 1848, from China. He brought two Chinamen and one woman—the first, except for those who served as stewards of vessels. The Chinese woman had remained in his family ever since. Very probably John Wilson, with his interest in gold, enjoyed hearing Gillespie tell (see his p. 3) how the first of that precious metal he had seen in California was “brought in quills from a sawmill near Coloma. The next I saw was in a quinine bottle, about a third full. Then there was a whole quinine bottlefull brought down, which set all the people wild.”

19. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 174.

20. Charles Albro Barker, editor, *Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Crosby* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1945), p. 49. F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier* (Boston & New York, 1924), p. 349, shows what the boundaries projected by the State of Deseret meant in modern geographic terms, namely, that they "were generous enough to include Utah, Nevada, Arizona and southern California as far as the harbor of San Diego."

21. See Cardinal Goodwin, *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850* (New York, 1914), pp. 158-59, on the overlapping of Mormon and California legislators' ideas on amalgamation of the two areas.

22. *Journal of the California Senate, op. cit.*, p. 129; *of the Assembly, pp. 770 ff.*

23. *Journal of the California Senate, op. cit.*, App. J, pp. 429-35.

24. Taylor to Congress, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3.

25. Browne, *Debates . . . op. cit.*, 443-49.

26. Cf. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 496-97, on founding of Red Bluff.

27. Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar in California* (Los Angeles, 1901), pp. 435-36. Murray brought with him no fame nor influence from the East but added quickly by his own efforts to what Wilson called his "tolerable" qualities as a lawyer. Besides being one of the associate justices of the short-lived first Superior Court of the City and County of San Francisco, he was in 1852 made chief justice of the California Supreme Court, to which he had been appointed the year before by Gov. John McDougal.

28. Soulé *et al, op. cit.*, pp. 468-69, give a picture of the ruins of the St. Francis Hotel after its destruction by fire on Oct. 22, 1853. It was said to have been composed "of the slightest and most inflammable materials. . . . One lodger was burned to death."

29. Soulé *et al, op. cit.*, p. 279, differ from the *Alta* as to the dates of the two meetings, the former placing them on June 5th and 12th—not so credible as the *Alta's* contemporary news items.

30. *Alta California*, Jan. 9, 1851, under heading entitled "A New El Dorado." See also *California Courier*, Jan. 8, 1851, where Wilson tries unsuccessfully to send a boat across the bar of the Klamath River.

31. Soulé *et al, op. cit.*, p. 314. See also Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, pp. 151-52.

32. Osgood Church Wheeler in his letter of Oct. 30, 1850, to Alexander M. Beebee in New York (MS, to be published by the Society, pp. 95-96), describes the participation, during first Admission Day celebrations, of nearly 200 pupils from John C. Pelton's school, held in the Baptist chapel. On their white banner was written in red and blue, "First Public School in San Francisco." See also Soulé *et al, op. cit.*, pp. 677-86, for a history of the early schools in the city. Mrs. Wilson, whose letter of Feb. 28th, it will be remembered, expressed concern because of the neglect of education in San Francisco, must have been cheered that one of her family was given a chance to help it along, by membership on the school board.

33. Culmer, "California Letter . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 203, quotes Wilson as saying that the office to which Murray had been sworn in on April 11, 1850, carried a "salary I believe of 8000\$ per an."

34. *Ibid.*, p. 204. Wilson wrote that his two sons were "going to take out quite a lot of Indians to work for them. . . . If they have the least good luck they will do well. . . ." This is, of course, Wilson speaking as a private citizen—not as Indian agent.

35. Utah was not formally organized as a territory until Sept. 9, 1850, a year after Wilson left Salt Lake City; and the reader will recollect that the Wilsons had already reached San Francisco by December 9, 1849.

An Early 19th Century California (?) Copper Medallion

By ROBERT F. HEIZER

THE copper medallion illustrated here was brought to me by a Mr. Vaughn, a student at the University of California. He had borrowed it from the owner, Mr. William Craig, who found the piece on August 9, 1946, when he was digging a drain-tile trench behind his house at 6553 Chabot Road, Oakland. This house was built in 1923. A steep hill rises behind it and it was in this slope, at a depth of 8 to 10 feet below the slope surface, that a pick encountered the metal disc. The gouge marks on one surface of the disc show clearly in the photograph.

The disc, 39 mm. in diameter and 3 mm. thick, was apparently made from a piece of sheet copper with a hollow punch. A slight bevel on the edge suggests a tool of this sort. Each surface shows linear striations, which may be corruptions due to alteration of some softer components, or may be vestiges of surface inequalities derived from some such process as rolling the original surface of the copper sheet during its manufacture. A black (copper oxide?) patina is present on the edge and on both faces of the disc; the metal itself is red copper, which may be seen in the pick gouges on one surface.

On one side is stamped (*not cast*) a design of a bow and arrow. Close inspection shows that the arrow has a point, but this feature is obscured, indeed nearly obliterated. Possibly the die was imperfect. Beneath the bow are three capital letters S U D. The reverse bears a more complex design, also stamped. At the bottom is the date 1813; above the date to the left is the number 8, to the right the letter R. A large letter J stands above the 8. To the right, above the R, is a design consisting of a depressed circle which contains a raised "arm" ending in a pincerlike crescent. There are two eight-pointed rosettes or "stars," one above and one below the crescent.

I have shown the piece or a photograph of it to persons who might be expected to recognize a common California mission period object, but without result. It is pretty clearly genuine, to judge by its appearance and chemical patina. Its occurrence in the hills behind Berkeley is puzzling; if it did reach this resting place some time in the last century, it may have been brought there by a converted native who got it from one of the nearby missions (San Jose, Dolores, San Rafael). Again—and on the assumption of its genuineness—its origin might be Mexico or even the Old World; if so, it may have come from some ship entering a California port.

It is hoped that one of the readers of the QUARTERLY may be able to identify this piece. I am reminded of an inquiry in the *Mariner's Mirror*

(XXVIII, No. 1, p. 87) by R. C. Anderson, who described a button found on the north shore of Monterey Bay by a Mr. R. A. Doolittle. It bears the legend "Je renais de mes cendres. No. 5," and is easily identifiable as a "Phoenix button," a uniform button with the regimental number, made in New England for Christophe of Haiti, who died before the order was delivered. These buttons occur sporadically throughout Washington, Oregon, and California, probably distributed in this area by Boston ship traders. Perhaps the occurrence of the medallion described here may have a similarly simple explanation.

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Continued)

The Board of Marine Underwriters of San Francisco was first organized in 1864, its object being merely to nominate to the governor two out of the three pilot commissioners, the third being named by the Chamber of Commerce,⁷⁷ as directed by law. But this arrangement did not work well. It was found that the sympathies of the underwriters and merchants were too easily imposed on by the designing, old, dead-beat ship masters who wanted a chance to finger the bribes that candidates for a pilot branch were always offering. The most corrupt commissioners and most careless and drunken pilots were therefore the results of the choice of the very men on whom the consequent losses fell. The law was promptly repealed and the choice of candidates restored to the governor.

But by this time there were three "locals" in the marine business, the Merchants Mutual Marine Insurance Company having been added in 1863, besides several agencies of eastern underwriters. We began to feel the evils of competition. We had a splendid field for making money, there being as yet no overland telegraph or ocean cables to destroy the anxiety which is the parent of premiums, and at the same time bring all the underwriters of the world into competition with each other. But we were throwing away our advantage by unnecessary rivalry among ourselves. I worked hard to induce all in the business to establish and maintain uniform rates and rules in our dealing with the public. My first effort was to regulate the principles on which losses were to be adjusted.

In the early years of San Francisco's commerce, losses were numerous and heavy. Good old Capt. John C. Hoyt, who was sent out in 1854 or 1855 to act as agent of the New York underwriters, was an honest, amiable gentleman whom everyone loved and cheated! There were many hundreds of vessels always in port, most of them old and many of them on their last voyage. The wages and cost of repairs, provisions, etc., were extravagantly high, while of outward freights there were none; so that it was not worth the cost to attempt to get any but the best of these vessels out of port. If such attempts were made, it was often with a view to realizing the insurance. Moreover, there was but little known of the coast all the way from Panama to Behring Straits. Americans are not like the English, satisfied to build cities on the edge of an untracked wilderness, like Victoria, Sydney and Melbourne. We "want to know you know." The government soon set about the making of a reconnaissance survey of the American part of the west coast, but its movements were too slow for the hundreds of idle "skippers" at San Francisco, and these went to work, each on his own

account, to survey this iron-bound coast with their keels. So the shore was lined with wrecks; vessels worth and insured for \$20,000 or more at their home ports were greatly depreciated here, by reason of the glut and other conditions, whereby the only profitable sale possible was to the underwriters.

Moreover, the goods market was in a similarly chaotic and abnormal condition. It required many years to so systematize the reporting of importations as to make prudent calculation in ordering for this market at all possible. All the importers were commission merchants; nearly all goods were consigned to them by eastern or foreign owners whose shipments, owing to the length of the voyage around Cape Horn, were of course intended for the next year's market. Hence continued gluts, spurts, and corners in all articles, which were further aggravated by the effects of conflagrations in causing sudden demand for articles destroyed and whose supply could not be increased for a year. Of course high commissions were charged by the local merchants, whose rates, as fixed by the new Chamber of Commerce, were four to ten times as high as in older ports, and these were made especially high in all transactions affecting insurers, who were then all foreign or eastern, and who had no friends here; in fact, they were like sheep among wolves, nearly all of their agents (for settling losses) being themselves commission merchants and therefore interested against their employers. Claims in particular average on goods damaged on long voyages were frequent and heavy and often fraudulent.

In this condition of affairs, the office of adjuster of marine losses became of unnatural and monstrous importance. By the universal law of general averages, the statement thereof must be made at the port where the interests separate. There was therefore no appeal from the San Francisco statement, if made according to the laws, rules and customs of insurance at that place. We of course had no peculiar laws on the subject, and up to 1863 the "rules and customs" were varied according to the whims or interests of the adjuster employed on each case as it arose. And if post wardens, underwriters' agents and auctioneers of goods, represented to be damaged, could be brought to sign the ingenious documents prepared by the claimants in particular average, of course their certificates, however false, could not be traversed in New York or London.

The adjusting business from 1840 to 1859 was almost entirely in the hands of J. P. Haven, who was also the first local agent of the Philadelphia and Boston underwriters. As he was a very uneven, unsystematic and unbalanced business man and moreover extremely popular with the merchants, no doubt the evils complained of were originated under his regime, though I cannot say so of my own knowledge. But he ultimately employed his brother, R. S. Haven, and the celebrated Thos. N. Cazneau as his assistants, and these men succeeded him after his own break up.

R. S. Haven was a good adjuster when sober, but soon left San Francisco for Boston. Cazneau succeeded to the control about 1860, keeping it till his death in 1873. He was an expert adjuster when he arrived in California from New Orleans about 1850, being then probably fifty years old; an Irishman by birth, son of that rare bird, an Irish sea captain. He was a small spare man, with hatchet features, black hair and beard (dyed till his death), lively gray eyes, a limber tongue, and charming manners. He was a born politician and was chairman of the Democratic (Copperhead) state committee during the war. He was prominent in the state militia (invincible in peace, invisible in war), attaining the rank of brigadier general in that service. With him "language was invented to conceal thought." He was just the man our merchants delighted to honor and employ. With him an adjuster ceased to be the judge between claimant and insurer as he is everywhere deemed to be, and became degraded to the position of the attorney of the employer. If the insured hired him, the charges for commission would betray the fact; if the underwriter, he would write long opinions attacking the principles he had himself enforced in other cases.

Of course these chaotic conditions of the business had to be rectified somehow, unless stockholders in insurance companies were to hold themselves at the mercy of all unscrupulous claimants. But they could not be reformed for the exclusive benefit of local insurers. If any change were effected, non-resident underwriters would reap the advantage equally with the locals. Hence all must concur in establishing the change.

I accordingly invited all parties concerned—adjusters, locals, and agents—to a convention to fix the "rules and customs" of marine insurance in San Francisco. The movement was a success. A week's steady discussion brought order out of chaos.

The work of the convention was printed on the third page of all policies, and made a part of all contracts. It was adopted by the Chamber of Commerce; and after the full organization of the Board of Marine Underwriters a standing committee on adjustments was established and has been since maintained; whose imprimatur was made a *sine qua non* to every adjustment made at San Francisco. Thus order and justice were substituted for their opposites, and the first step was taken by San Francisco marine underwriters to challenge the respect of their customers and the public.

XV.

After General [A. S.] Johnston had vacated my house on Rincon Place, I moved my family there once more, and we continued to occupy it until 1865. It was our first successful attempt to establish a permanent home, and the four years of our domestic life there were very happy ones. We furnished the house by degrees and the question of Dita's education (now aged 13) becoming of paramount importance, we rented a room for \$30 per month, without meals, to James Nisbet, in order to raise the means for

sending that child to Miss Mary Atkins' female seminary at Benicia. The admission of Mr. Nisbet to our family circle proved a happy event to us all. He was a very peculiar man and fell naturally into the relation of grandpa to my children and of an elder brother or almost a parent to myself and wife. He must have been about fifty years old when he came to us. He was a confirmed bachelor by occupation, a part owner and associate editor of the *Evening Bulletin*, then the leading paper in San Francisco. A man of good education, a full-blooded Scot, a quick, ready and full writer, prompt and decided in action, a fluent talker, and indomitable worker, a great walker, a loyal friend, and an uncompromising enemy; a man in all things sufficient unto himself and therefore of solitary habits; he had enemies by the score and but few friends. His rough and uncouth manner earned him the soubriquet of the "Bear of the Bulletin Office." Rival editors hounded him continually with the utmost acrimony, libeling him at every fresh controversy as a "ticket-of-leave man," a "Sydney duck," etc. (he having once visited Sydney on business). Yet away down below his rugged surface, he had one of the biggest, truest hearts I ever met, but the way thereto was "strait and narrow and few there were that found it."

Our house proved to be a real home for this peculiar genius, and on gradually recognizing that fact he never afterwards ceased to do his part to increase the happiness of all its inmates. With me he loved to converse on every topic. He opened the columns of the *Bulletin* to me and encouraged me to write for publication. He consulted with me over his investments. He kept the children supplied with books, toys, candy and peanuts. He treated Myra like a sister. Hard at work all the week, he came home at midnight and left about 10 A. M. for his business, so that we did not often see him, but on Sundays he always breakfasted with us and spent the day with the family reading and telling stories and walking. Sometimes we went on a boating excursion to Goat Island, Angel Island, Saucelito [*sic*], or San Rafael. Once he challenged me to walk with him to the top of Monte Diablo. I went and we got there, but he tired me almost to death. On another occasion, if I had not known how to handle a boat in a heavy sea, his awkward rowing would have drowned us all near Goat Island. For four years Nisbet was an inmate of my house, until his death by drowning at sea in 1865. They were four happy years to us all.

My daughter Myra was born during this period, to wit, on July 10, 1864.

It was Nisbet's offer of free publication in the *Bulletin* that induced me to begin the statistical work of compiling the records of all marine losses in the California trade, arranging them by inward and outward voyages on every route, ascertaining the amounts lost and comparing the rates of loss with the current rate of premium. This labor of love I kept up for eighteen years, the free publication by the *Bulletin* being by and by replaced by pamphlet printing paid for by the Board of Marine Underwriters. At the

end of the tenth year, I summarized the results, which then began to be of value. I intended to have done the same at the end of the twentieth year, but meantime the envy of D. J. Staples and others in the marine insurance business succeeded in preventing further aid in the payment of printing bills, and so smothered a publication which was beginning to make a foreign reputation for me. That work, however, though valuable as a record of disasters, and especially useful to the lighthouse department in locating lights and fog signals, was not successful in its main object. I had not enough time to myself to obtain the values of the cargoes and I had no money to hire that work done. So I took the number of voyages attempted on each route, and compared the number of disasters with it, a false unit of calculation, so that I failed to deduce the rates of loss on the values exposed to risk.

In 1863 local insurance companies began to multiply. The Home Mutual, Fireman's Fund, California Home, Pacific, and Merchant's Mutual were incorporated that year. Subsequently the Occidental, the Builders, the Peoples, the National, and California Farmers were successively launched. Of these only the Merchants undertook marine business at the start, but all the rest took it up in due course.

The conservative course heretofore followed by the California Mutual Marine made it impossible to secure an increase of business in the face of such competition, which was likewise being stimulated by the continual increase of foreign and other non-resident agencies; but nevertheless we had done remarkably well. In 1865 we paid up, by assessment of twenty per cent on the stock notes, \$40,000, which, together with our earnings, gave us our subscribed capital of \$200,000, all paid up clear, besides a reserve of \$42,990, and we then added a limited fire business to the marine. In 1866 we began to pay dividends which have been continued ever since with but few interruptions.

The year was signalized by several important events both in my business and domestic relations.

Mr. M'Ruer, having been elected to congress, resigned his amateur presidency of the company in July, and Albert Miller was elected its first professional president at a salary of \$6,000 per annum. Mr. Miller was a German by birth, a thorough and experienced merchant, having just realized several hundred thousand dollars by the dissolution of the great dry goods firm of Janson, Bond and Company of which he was a partner, and which made \$1,500,000 by the rise in price and appreciation of gold during the war. While in that firm, Mr. Miller had for several years managed the agency of the Washington Marine Insurance Company of New York and thereby learned something of marine underwriting. Being very active and industrious, he threw his whole soul into the business, and aided by rare good luck made during the year of his incumbency \$80,000 profit for the company. But the strain on his nervous system was too great. He became

subject to the "falling sickness" and was obliged to retire altogether from business and go to Germany, where three years rest gradually restored him to health and usefulness. He is still a prominent business man in San Francisco in connection with savings banks and other corporations.

Two narrow escapes the company had from utter ruin, during Mr. Miller's administration; one of these dangers was due to his rashness.

The Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah*, Captain Waddell, had made her appearance among the whalers in the Okhotsk Sea, of which she burned forty and shipped all their crews, some 400 men, to San Francisco by the bark *Milo* which brought the first news of this disaster to our city. Of course there was a wild rush to the insurance offices to cover war risks on everything afloat in the North Pacific. To be sure the war was over, but Captain Waddell did not know it, nor was there any way of informing him. Miller took it for granted that he would find it out and so stop his mischief. He accordingly took every risk that offered at only one-half of one per cent, aggregating \$500,000 risks taken in a few days for which he received only \$2,500 premiums! I argued that there was no U. S. war vessel now on the coast, the *Lancaster*, the last of the squadron, having gone south a few days before the arrival of the *Milo*; that if the *Shenandoah* saw fit to come down on this side, after destroying all the whalers, he could trap the whole fleet of our lumber risks in Puget Sound and destroy them all with impunity, especially as he would have the friendly ports of Victoria and Nanaimo to victual and coal at.

That if he did not take that course, the risks we were now loading up with at one-half of one per cent would go up to twenty-five per cent and 50 per cent. That we could do without the paltry \$2,500 we were getting at one-half per cent. But Miller would not listen. I got frightened and sold him all my three shares of stock at par (I afterwards bought it back at 150) and by good luck he turned out to be right. The *Shenandoah* got the desired news somehow and sailed for Australia and England and none of our risks were captured.

Meantime the Board of Marine Underwriters had been fully organized, uniform policies adopted, and uniform rates of premium and rules and conditions framed (by me) and made binding on every company and agency. I was elected secretary at a salary of \$100 per month, July 31, 1865, and was annually re-elected to that office for twenty years. Among our rules was one obliging all members to decline unrated risks; that is, vessels that were not classified in the English or American Lloyds or French Veritas, unless they were surveyed and rated by our own surveyors, of whom we employed two, Captains Amos Noyes and Robert Roxby. The Pacific Insurance Company having undertaken marine business, was a member of the board; and its marine secretary, E. A. Kellogg, had previously been the secretary of the surveyors and knew more about their operations than I did.

I have previously alluded to Jonathan Hunt, who had played me so nicely about a partnership in 1855-56. He was now the president of the Pacific Insurance Company, which he had got up with a paid up capital of \$750,000, backed as he was by the celebrated W. C. Ralston and the Bank of California. Hunt was a born gopher, always burrowing underground and appearing under somebody's orange tree or potato patch when he was least expected and where his mischief was done before he was discovered. The entire history of that company, covering nine years, was colored by trickery and fraud. Its object, a perfectly wild one, was the complete monopoly of the business, out of which it proposed to drive both locals and foreigners; everybody but itself. It had a brilliant career for a time, but went down in the Chicago fire of 1871, paying its \$3,200,000 losses at the rate of fifty cents on the dollar! And of course losing its entire assets.

The narration of all the tricks perpetrated by Hunt on his business associates, would be interesting to underwriters, politicians and financiers, but hardly so to my probable readers. Suffice it to relate his conspiracy with H. H. Bigelow (then agent for the Phoenix of Brooklyn and a dozen other New York companies, and Hunt's superior, when he was sober, in insurance trickery as well as insurance skill), to wipe out the California by one shrewd move.

The clipper ship *Great Republic*, of 4,200 tons and for many years the largest sailing vessel in the world, had laid up in San Francisco harbor for a year awaiting her Captain Paul's release from prison. He had been convicted of ill treating his crew on the outward voyage. At last, early in 1865, she was laid on the berth for New York, carrying an enormous cargo. She had her regular rating in the American Lloyds, and the risks were freely written by all the offices to whom they were offered at regular rates. We took \$20,000, being our legal limit of ten per cent on our paid up capital. After the ship had sailed, we had other applications to the amount of \$30,000 which we only wrote after re-insuring \$15,000 each in the Pacific and Phoenix, who accepted their premiums of \$525 gold each and issued us their re-insurance policies as usual. But by and by the telegraph (single wire then) ceased to operate and continued dumb for several weeks. When it was repaired the *Great Republic* was reported not arrived, though 120 days out; her regular time being 100 days on that voyage. Of course her friends and insurers were anxious about her and the premium began to rise. That day was Saturday. Judge of my surprise, when just as the office was closing, I received a letter from Mr. Hunt, together with a bag of \$525 in gold, claiming that as we had not informed the Pacific when placing the risk that the ship had been surveyed by the local surveyors and refused a certificate before she sailed, we had been guilty of "concealment of a material fact" and as the insurance was therefore void, they tendered us back the premium and notified us of their rescission of the policy. I promptly declined the tender.

Hardly had the messenger left when a similar letter and bag of coin arrived from the Phoenix; tender likewise declined.

Now as it happened, we never had been informed that the local surveyors had examined the ship, while Kellogg had been in their office at the time, and being now the marine secretary of the Pacific, they were legally chargeable with his knowledge. So there was absolutely no ground for their charge of "concealment" against us. But mark the intended consequence to us. Had I accepted their tender and cancelled the risks, if the ship had been lost, we would have had to pay \$50,000 or nearly one-fourth our assets without re-insurance, for we could have obtained no other re-insurance under the circumstances; and whether lost or not, we should have forfeited our charter by taking one risk in excess of the legal ten per cent without re-insuring the excess; and if lost, the tender not being accepted, we should have had to sue our re-insurers for their contribution, whose defense being a charge against our good faith, would doubtless damage us before the business community. In any event, the object was to wipe out the little pioneer company and gobble all of its business the conspirators could secure. Fortunately for us, the ship was reported arrived all right, on the following morning, which eliminated the principal element of danger to us in the attempted fraud.

But a fierce contest at once arose over it in the board. Hunt brought charges against us of violating the rules in taking a risk in disregard of the action of the board surveyors, intending to have the company expelled from the organization, which would have involved my dismissal from the office of secretary. Two days were occupied in hearing the case. We employed Hall M'Allister; the Pacific engaged the celebrated Samuel M. Wilson. The facts were with us, but as every member of the board had done the same thing, in ignorance of the action of the surveyors (who thus far reported only the certificates they granted, and not those they refused), and as three-fourths of the members were stockholders in the Pacific, no decision of the case was arrived at.

Mr. Miller having declined re-election as president of our company, I decided to run for that office myself. Had there been any other available candidate, I should never have been promoted; but taking advantage of the circumstances, I had no difficulty in securing a unanimous vote. I took the executive chair August 1, 1866, and was annually re-elected without opposition till my resignation which took effect December 31, 1885. Zenas Crowell, who had been clerk in the office during Mr. Miller's term, was elected secretary in my place, where he continued for sixteen years, till his death in 1883. . . .

XVI.

In the early spring of 1865 we sold our home, No. 30 Rincon Place, together with our furniture (piano excepted) for \$9,300 cash, my first

profitable real estate transaction. We had enlarged it by adding two rooms in the rear (built with my own hands) but the view had been destroyed by the erection of neighboring buildings; we were tired of the continual funerals of the Hospital dead-house opposite and we were both fond of change and wanted to move across the bay to Oakland or Alameda, where we would have larger grounds, fresh air and plenty of trees and flowers. The Alameda Railroad⁷⁸ had just been completed, and Nisbet and the celebrated A. A. Cohen (deceased December 1887) owned twenty-eight acres on its line at Masticks Station, where they had built a pretty eight room cottage for rent. I took that cottage for a year and furnished it cheaply, and we lived there for three months, when we were driven out of it by the nuisance of continual picnics on the adjoining lot and by constant poisoning from the poison oak (*Rhus toxicodendron*) with which the place abounded.

Our friend and landlord, Nisbet, still came to us on Saturday nights and spent Sundays with us. We parted with him forever on Sunday evening, July 23rd, under circumstances none of us will forget while we live.

I have before alluded to the arrival of the *Milo* with the crews of the whale ships burned by the *Shenandoah*. Of course the news of these depredations on our commerce created intense excitement among seafaring men. There was then no U. S. man-of-war in port or on the coast. But the new and fast P.M.S.S. Co.'s⁷⁹ steamer *Colorado* had just arrived from New York. Hundreds of volunteers were anxious to man this vessel if the government would charter and arm her and furnish the officers to go in pursuit of the *Shenandoah*.

At a public meeting held at the Merchants Exchange I was appointed a committee of one to go to Mare Island and endeavor to induce Commodore M'Dougal, who commanded the Navy Yard, to represent the government in the matter. I found the old commodore both willing and ready to do all that we asked, but he could not move without orders from Washington, and the wires were again down (a frequent occurrence in those days) so that nothing could be or was done in the matter. This interview occurred on Saturday, July 22, 1865.

Returning home by carriage overland on the following day, Sunday, I found my house fence surrounded by the German Regiment from the City, who with their friends had been enjoying a picnic on the adjoining grounds. They were most of them more or less drunk; the day was hot, and they were crazy for water. Nisbet and my wife and daughters were all hard at work pumping and delivering water to these thousands of people, as the alternative of having the house sacked! The train took them away soon after I arrived, and then I found that Nisbet intended to start for Victoria on the steamer *Brother Jonathan* on the following Friday, his object being to obtain testimony in a suit he had brought against the *Chronicle* newspaper for repeated and malicious libels against him.

My wife did all she could do to dissuade him from sailing on that old vessel and on Friday; she seemed to have a premonition of the coming disaster; but he laughed at her superstition, as he called it, in his bluff, hearty way, and bidding us all goodbye, he carried out his design and went gaily to his death.

The steamer sailed with some 200 passengers, among them being General Wright⁸⁰ of the army, J. R. Richards of Portland, and many other notable persons. She encountered very heavy head winds and seas, so that the master decided to run in shore and anchor at Crescent City until the weather should moderate. In so doing, the steamer struck a sunken rock, previously unknown, with such force as to instantly burst in her bottom, so that the foremast dropped through it until stopped by the yard on the rails. In the brief half hour that ensued before the final catastrophe, three boats were launched, only one of which, containing nineteen sailors, got clear of the wreck and reached safety; the others were swamped alongside. The passengers had but little time left in which to distribute life preservers, ere the vessel filled and settled aft, finally sliding off the rock into deep water in which every soul on board met a watery grave.

But Nisbet showed his cool presence of mind during that half hour of fearful suspense, by writing his will. It was as follows:

At sea on board the "Brother Jonathan," July 30, 1865.

In view of death, I hereby appoint my brother Thomas Nisbet at present engaged on the Pacific Railroad near Clipper Gap, California, my sole executor, with instructions to wind up my whole estate, real and personal, and convert the same into cash, with all convenient speed, but so as not to sacrifice the same, and to pay over and divide the same equally between himself and my sole sister Margaret Nisbet now residing in England, and under burden of the payment of a legacy of Five thousand dollars in gold to Almira Hopkins, wife of Caspar T. Hopkins, Insurance agent, San Francisco, California. And I desire that my brother, said Thomas Nisbet, shall not be asked to give security for his intromissions with my estate.

Jas. Nisbet.

This will was written in pencil. Accompanying it was the following note addressed to my wife:

My dear, dear Ma: A thousand affectionate adieus. You spoke of my sailing on Friday, hangman's day, and the unlucky Jonathan. Well, here I am with death before me. My love to you all—to Caspar, to Dita, to Belle, Mellie and little Myra; kiss her for me.

Never forget,

Grandpa.

Carefully wrapping these documents and a letter to his brother in other papers and buttoning them up in his breast pocket, he put on two life preservers and floated off when the ship went down. His body was found several days afterwards and the papers reached the intended hands. But the will not having been witnessed, according to law, was refused probate. The executor took advantage of this fact to pay but \$3,000 to the legatee, instead of \$5,000. But it was all the same in the end, for the fund arising from its use was ultimately lost by my wife in mining stock speculations.

The gloom that this sad event threw over my family, together with the intolerable picnic nuisance, made our continued residence in the Alameda Cottage insufferable to us all. Hardly was the funeral over, when we packed up and moved back to the city where for six weeks we were extremely uncomfortable at Mrs. Hyde's boarding house on the corner of O'Farrell and Powell streets. I at once bought a fine lot on the west side of Post Street between Mason and Taylor, 50 x 137½ (524 Post Street), designed a beautiful Gothic cottage of nine rooms, besides a large cellar and garret, contracted it to Thomas Nisbet to build, he being an excellent carpenter; and while it was building, we hired an uncomfortable old house on Sutter Street right back of the new house, so that I was able to watch it closely while in process of construction. This house cost \$8,500 and was finished with a mortgage of \$4,000; and with the exception of a year in 1866/7 when it was rented for \$200 per month while my two Myra's went East and the three older daughters were at school at Benicia, it continued to be our home until sold in 1868.

During all these years and until I became president of the California Insurance Company in 1866, I had continued to play the organ in churches. My salary varied for this service at from \$500 to \$1,000 per annum, and I can truly say I never sought a position or was dismissed from one. Never had any difficulties with my choirs or with the music committees or ministers of the churches.

As to the quality of the music, I took infinite pains to please. I selected the best voices I could get for the salary paid. Unable to play very difficult pieces, I never tried them in public, knowing that the pleasing qualities of music have, to the common ear, no relation to the difficulty of performance. I had many sweet melodies of my dear father's composition, which I arranged from memory and which I owned exclusively. I gave half the singing at each service to the congregation, reserving the other half to the choir, whom I drilled carefully at rehearsals; especially on the rendering and expression due to the words. I never admitted a piece that was not in itself a meritorious composition. Thus I was in harmony with the people and on their level. They preferred me, an American amateur, to German professors, to the great disgust of the graduates of Leipzig and Berlin.

My services as organist covered 30 years, from 1842, when I was sixteen years old, to 1872, though I resigned pay for the services in 1866. They were rendered to the following churches: St. Pauls Episcopal, Burlington, 1842 to 1848, 6 years; Trinity Episcopal, San Francisco, 1849, 3 months; Grace Episcopal, Sacramento, 1856-7, 2 years; Unitarian, San Francisco, 1853-5, 2 years; Howard Presbyterian, San Francisco, 1852-3 and 1856-66, 11 years; Church of the Advent, San Francisco, Episcopal 1860-63 (2 churches at once), 3 years; Hamilton Church, Oakland, 1868-1872 (gratuitous), 4 years. There were of course intervals between engagements amounting to two years or so in the aggregate.

I look back upon my choir experiences as some of the pleasantest of my life. But so long as I played for money, the injury to my rise as a business man was of more damage to me than the salary paid for. The public do not believe in artists of any kind as fit to conduct affairs. So I retired from organ playing for money when I became insurance president. There are now probably not a dozen people in San Francisco who remember me as an organist; as there is but one now surviving who knew me as a schooner captain. (And he died in February, 1889.)

In June 1866 my parents celebrated their Golden Wedding. The invitations had been sent out for three years and I had been indulging in fond hopes that somehow or other I should be able to attend, even if I could not bring my family with me. As the time approached, I found myself unable to spend the little fortune required to take the whole family East, but had saved enough to pay my own expenses. The short cut to New York was not yet in existence, and to make the trip by steamer would take three months. I called my directors together to ask them for leave of absence. Now they knew that I was the real manager of the company, though as yet only the secretary, and as we had but one inexperienced clerk (Crowell), who could not be trusted to take my place, the business must stop while I was gone. Yet they did not know but what I might get angry and resign if they refused my request. So they compromised by every one of them staying away from the meeting. There being no time to call another meeting before the steamer sailed, I had to give it up. I, however, put the price of the ticket into an elegant gold mounted meerschaum pipe of my own design which I presented to my father on that occasion. This was returned to me after his death by my mother and is now in my vault.

In 1870 the capital of the California Insurance Company was increased to \$300,000 by capitalizing \$50,000 of its surplus and calling in \$50,000 from the stockholders. I should heretofore have mentioned that it was re-incorporated in 1864 by its present title, The California Insurance Company, its shares were reduced from \$10,000 each to \$100 each, and fire business was added to marine.

(To be continued)

NOTES

(included by mistake in previous installment)

77. The historical sketch of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in Colville's directory (1856), p. 245, says that it was organized May 6, 1851, and lists the six "schedules" governing commercial transactions (rates of commissions, rates of storage on merchandise, delivery of merchandise, freight payments, etc.). An earlier organization date is given by Bancroft (*op. cit.*, VII, 172, note 45), viz., May 1, 1850, and incorporation as taking place Nov. 3, 1851.

78. The *Pacific Coast Business Directory* (S. F., 1871), p. 160, mentions Alameda as one of the "termini of the various lines of railroads which run through the interior," and speaks of the steam ferries furnishing communication between the termini (Oak-

land and Alameda) and San Francisco. See also Frank C. Merritt, *History of Alameda County* (Chicago, 1928), I, 119, who speaks of the branch line to Mastick Station in Alameda as having been built in 1873.

79. Of the steamer *Colorado*, Wiltsee (*op. cit.*, p. 308) says that on Jan. 1, 1867, it was despatched on a pioneer voyage to Hong Kong by the Pacific Mail S. S. Co., though they were not too certain that it would be a success. A profit of some \$11,000 resulted, and thereafter more and more attention was given to the China run.

80. Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner was succeeded in command on the Pacific Coast by Brig. Gen. of Volunteers George Wright, who commanded until July 1, 1864, when he was relieved by Maj. Gen. of Volunteers Irwin McDowell. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 472.) For General Wright's connection with the New Almaden episode of 1863, see Milton H. Shutes, "Abraham Lincoln and the New Almaden Mine," this *QUARTERLY*, XV (March 1936), especially p. 11; also, for his suppression of "disloyal" newspapers during 1862, see Benj. F. Gilbert, "The Confederate minority in California," this *QUARTERLY*, XX (June 1941), 162.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

- ALAMEDA, CALIF. CHRIST CHURCH
Diamond Jubilee, 1872-1947. [n. p.] 1947. 24 pp. illus.
- BURTON, JEAN
Katharine Felton and Her Social Work in San Francisco. Stanford University, James Ladd Delkin, 1947. 274 pp. illus. \$3.00.
- BUTCHER, DEVEREUX
Exploring our National Parks and Monuments. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. 160 pp. illus. \$2.75.
- CAMP, WILLIAM MARTIN
San Francisco: Port of Gold. Garden City, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947. xv + 518 pp. illus. \$5.00.
- CHALFANT, W. A.
Gold, Guns & Ghost Towns. Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1947. xi + 175 pp. \$3.00.
- DAWSON, ERNEST
Los Angeles Booksellers of 1897. Claremont, Saunders Press, 1947. 12 pp. illus. Reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the Historical Society of Southern California, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (June 1947).
- DE VOTO, BERNARD
Across the Wide Missouri, Illustrated with Paintings by Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles Bodmer and George Catlin, with an Account of the Discovery of the Miller Collection by Mae Reed Porter. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. xxvii + 483 pp. illus. \$10.00.
- DICKSON, SAMUEL [pseud.]
San Francisco is Your Home. Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1947. viii + 262 pp. illus. \$3.50.
- DIETRICH, —.
The German Emigrants; or, Frederick Wohlgenuth's Voyage to California by Dr. Dietrich, translated by Leopold Wray. Stanford University, James Ladd Delkin [1947]. 47 pp. illus. \$4.50.
- ESSAYS for Henry R. Wagner, by Charles L. Camp, Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Dorothy H. Huggins and Carl I. Wheat. San Francisco. Grabhorn Press, 1947. 107 pp. \$12.50.
- FARNHAM, THOMAS JEFFERSON
Travels in California, with Map; foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. [Oakland] Bio-books, 1947. xv + 166 pp. illus. \$10.00.
- FORBES, KATHRYN
Transfer Point. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, [c1947]. 195 pp. \$2.75.
- GALLOWAY, JOHN DEBO
Early Engineering Works Contributory to the Comstock. [Reno, University of Nevada, 1947.] 102 pp. illus. \$0.75. University of Nevada *Bulletin*, Vol. XLI, No. 5 (June 1947). Geology and Mining Series, No. 45.
- GEIGER, MAYNARD, O. F. M.
The Scholastic Career and Preaching Apostolate of Fray Junipero Serra, O. F. M., S. T. D. (1730-1749). 65-82 pp. Reprinted from *The Americas*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (July 1947).

- GUDDÉ, ERWIN G., ed.
1,000 California Place Names, their Origin and Meaning. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1947. vii + 96 pp. \$1.00.
- HALL, CARROLL D.
Donner Miscellany; 41 Diaries and Documents. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1947. 97 pp. illus. \$7.50.
- JACKSON, WILLIAM H.
Picture Maker of the Old West. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. x + 308 pp. illus. \$7.50.
- KISTLER, JESSIE R.
Tales Told by the Mission Bells. Los Angeles, Research Publishing Company [c1947]. vii + 239 pp. illus. \$2.50.
- LEWIS, OSCAR
Silver Kings, the Lives and Times of Mackay, Fair, Flood, and O'Brien, Lords of the Nevada Comstock Lode. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. xii + 286 + viii pp. illus. \$4.00.
- MARBERRY, M. M.
The Golden Voice; a Biography of Isaac Kalloch. New York, Farrar, Straus and Company, 1947. x + 376 pp. illus. \$4.00.
- MONAGHAN, JAY
The Overland Trail. Indianapolis, New York, Bobbs-Merrill Company [c1947]. 431 pp. illus. \$3.75.
- MURRAY, JUSTIN
Cable Car Daze in San Francisco. Stanford University, James Ladd Delkin [c1947]. [91] pp. illus. \$3.50.
- OTT, SUSANA CLAYTON
The Good Night at San Gabriel. New York and London, Harper & Brothers [c1947]. 63 pp. illus. \$1.50.
- U. S. WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Impounded People, Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers. Washington, Govt. Print. Off. 1946. 239 pp. \$0.60.
- WRITERS' PROGRAM, CALIFORNIA
San Francisco, The Bay and Its Cities, Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in Northern California. New York, Hastings House, 1947. xvii + 531 pp. illus. \$4.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

August 1, 1947 to October 31, 1947

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From an ANONYMOUS DONOR—*Catalog of the Ely Cattle Sale, Thursday, April 19, 1860, at 12 o'clock, M., at Fish's Stable, Pine St.* [San Francisco, Towne and Bacon, 1860].

From the AUTHORS—*Essays for Henry R. Wagner*, by Charles L. Camp, Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Dorothy H. Huggins and Carl I. Wheat, San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1947.

From the late MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—California Poetry Folios, Book Club of California: Part 7, Lewis, Janet, *The Hangar at Sunnyvale*, San Francisco, 1947; Part 9, Rukeyser, Muriel, *The Children's Orchard*, San Francisco, 1947; Part 10, Flanner, Hildegarde, *Winter Rain*, San Francisco, 1947; Burton, Jean, *Katharine Felton and her Social Work in San Francisco*, Stanford University, James Ladd Delkin, 1947; Hall, Carroll D., *Donner Miscellany; 41 Diaries and Documents*, San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1947.

From MR. ANSON BLAKE—Paul, Rodman W., *California Gold, the Beginning of Mining in the Far West*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947.

From MR. R. W. COBHRAN—Merced County California, *Annual Preliminary Budget of Merced County, California, 1944, 1946, 1947, 1948*; Merced County, California, *Index to the Great Register, Merced County, California, 1944*, Vols. 1 and 2; 1946, Vols. 1 and 2.

From MR. R. H. CROSS—U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Reconnaissance Soil Survey of the Sacramento Valley, California*, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1915; Oakland City Council. City Planning Commission, *A Report on Off-Street Parking and Traffic Control in the Central Business District and Three Outlying Centers*, St. Louis, H. Bartholomew and Associates, 1947; Oakland City Council. City Planning Commission, *A Report on Transit Facilities and Mass Transportation in the Oakland Metropolitan Area*, St. Louis, H. Bartholomew and Associates, 1947.

From MR. ERNEST DAWSON—Dawson, Ernest, *Los Angeles Booksellers of 1897*, Claremont, Saunders Press, 1947, reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the Historical Society of Southern California, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (June 1947).

From HON. SHERIDAN DOWNEY—U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Public Lands, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, United States Senate, Eightieth Congress, First Session on S. 912, a Bill Exempting Certain Projects from the Land-limitation Provisions of the Federal Reclamation Laws and Repealing All Inconsistent Provisions of Prior Acts*, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1947.

From MR. RUSSEL A. ESTEP—Estep, Russel Adin, *Estep Genealogy and Family History, Compiled 1944-45 and Added to; with Corrections, 1947*. Mimeographed.

From MRS. E. RONALD FOSTER—Galloway, John Debo, *Early Engineering Works Contributory to the Comstock*, Reno, University of Nevada Bulletin, Vol. XLI, No. 5 (June 1947).

From MAYNARD GEIGER, O. F. M.—Geiger, Maynard, O. F. M., *The Scholastic Career and Preaching Apostolate of Fray Junipero Serra, O. F. M., S. T. D. (1730-1749)*, reprinted from *The Americas*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (July 1947).

From MR. RAY HALL—*Hall's Family Receipt Book for 1866*, [San Francisco] Sterett, Printer [1866].

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—U. S. War Relocation Authority, *Impounded People, Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers*, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1946.

From MRS. JEROME A. HART—Writers' Project, California, *San Francisco, The Bay and Its Cities*, Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in Northern California, New York, Hastings House, 1947.

From MR. JOHN HOWELL—Kaucher, Dorothy, *Wings Over Wake*, San Francisco, John Howell, 1947.

From MR. FRED R. HOWSER—Eight Official Publications of the Supreme Court of the United States Pertaining to the Tideland Litigation.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Irwin, Wallace, *At the Sign of the Dollar*, New York, Fox Duffield & Company, 1905; *From Now On*, an Anthology of Student Verse, San Rafael, Upper School of the Dominican Convent of San Rafael, 1946; Coblentz, Stanton A., *The Mountain of the Sleeping Maiden and Other Poems*, Mill Valley, Wings Press, 1946; Archer, Kate Rennie, *Coffee Shop*, Berkeley, Gillick Press [1947]; Redding, Joseph D., *The Atonement of Pan, A Music Drama* [San Francisco, Taylor, Nash & Taylor, 1912].

From MRS. EMMA KESSLER—Muir, John, ed., *Picturesque California, the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Slope*, New York and San Francisco, J. Dewing Company, c1894; *Heart Songs*, Boston, Chapple Publishing Company, 1909; Everett, Marshall, ed., *Exciting Experiences in our Wars with Spain and the Filipinas*, Chicago, Educational Company, 1900; Wilberforce, Archibald, ed., *The Great Battles of All Nations*, New York, Peter Fenelon Collier, 1898, 2 volumes; *The Werner Universal Educator, A Manual of General Information and Complete Cyclopedia of Reference*, Akron, Saalfeld Publishing Company, 1902.

From ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.—Lewis, Oscar, *Silver Kings, The Lives and Times of Mackay, Fair, Flood, and O'Brien, Lords of the Nevada Comstock Lode*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947; Cleland, Robert Glass, *California in Our Time (1900-1940)*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.

From MR. HARRY R. MILLER—Miller, Two-Guns, *Songs of the Navajo Sea* [Gallup, New Mexico, Masons, 1947].

From MR. HALLOCK F. RAUP—Raup, H. F., *Piedmont Plain Agriculture in Southern California*, reprinted from *Yearbook* of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, Vol. 6 (1940); Raup, H. F., *The Fence in the Cultural Landscape*, reprinted from *Western Folklore*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January 1947); Raup, H. F., *Rancho Los Palos Verdes*, Los Angeles [n. p.], 1937; Raup, H. F., *Modern California Cartography: Aids for the Map Compiler*, reprinted from *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (March 1946); Raup, H. F., *Place Names of the California Gold Rush*, New York [n. p.], 1945, reprinted from *The Geographical Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (1945).

From REV. HENRY M. SHIRES—Christ Church Parish, Alameda, California, *Diamond Jubilee, 1872-1947*, [n. p.] 1947.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—Chalfant, W. A., *Gold, Guns, & Ghost Towns*, Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1947; Dickson, Samuel [pseud.], *San Francisco is Your Home*, Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1947.

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS—Gudde, Erwin G., ed., *1,000 California Place Names, Their Origin and Meaning*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1947.

From MR. CARL W. VEALE—Outline of the Patterson-Piggott Family of St. Louis County, Missouri. Mimeographed.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—McLeod, Alexander, *Pigtails and Gold Dust*, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1947; Robertson, Thomas A., *A Southwestern Utopia*, Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1947; Robinson, W. W., *Ranchos Become Cities*, Pasadena, San Pasqual Press, 1939; Sykes, Godfrey, *A Westerly Trend*, Tucson, Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, 1944; Ainsworth, Ed, *Eagles Fly West*, New York, Macmillan Company, 1946; Rader, Jesse L., *South of Forty, from the Mississippi to the Rio Grande; A Bibliography*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1947; Zeitlin, Josephine Ver Brugge, and Zeitlin, Jakob, *Greetings to all Whoever Bought a Book* [n. p.] Castle Press, 1946; Smith, George Smedley, and Szold, Bernard, *Ugly Duckling* [Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, n. d.] (brochure); Books of the Southwest [n. p., Fred Harvey News Stands, 1941]; Southern California Friends of Mills College (folder); [Matthews, J. S.] *Pilot Commander Don José María Narvaez, 1791; Sesquicentennial of the Arrival of the First European on the Pacific Mainland Shore of Canada at English Bay, Vancouver* [Vancouver, City Hall, 1941]; Archer, H. Richard, *The Private Press of Thomas Perry Stricker* [Los Angeles, H. Richard Archer, 1947]; *Western Books, 1947* [Los Angeles, Rounce and Coffin Club, 1947]; Dawson, Ernest, *Los Angeles Booksellers of 1897*, Claremont, Saunders Press, 1947, reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the Historical Society of Southern California, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (June 1947); Botkin, B. A., ed., *A Treasury of American Folklore*, New York, Crown Publishers, 1944; Calvin, Ross, *River of the Sun, Stories of the Storied Gila*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1946; Poe, Edgar A., *The Journal of Julius Rodman*, San Francisco, Colt Press, 1947.

From MISS ALICE WRIGHT—Newman, John P., *America for Americans, Thanksgiving Sermon*, Washington, Rugus H. Darby, 1886; Reid, James Clement, *Reverend James Logan Gordon, D.D., An Appraisal and an Appreciation, Epitomizing Dr. James Clement Reid's Funeral Oration, Delivered in First Congregational Church, San Francisco, October Fourteenth, Nineteen Hundred and Thirty* [San Francisco, n. p., 1930].

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Cressy, Will M., *Cressy's History of California*, San Francisco, Cressy History Sales Co., 1923; *A Souvenir of Lieut. George H. Derby Alias John Phoenix or John P. Squibob* [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1933]; Sutter Club of Sacramento, California, *List of Members* [1913-1914], Sacramento [n. p., 1914].

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MRS. LOUISE FALKENAU HAAS—Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company, *San Francisco Telephone Directory*, October 1905.

From LINCOLN GRAMMAR SCHOOL ASSOCIATION—Lincoln Grammar School Association, *Bulletin*, Nos. 1-92, and continuation.

From MR. HALLOCK F. RAUP—Raup, H. F., *Anaheim: A German Community of Frontier California*, in the *American-German Review*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (December 1945).

From MISS LILLIAN F. WEEKS—*The Illustrated Directory; A Monthly Magazine of American Cities*, San Francisco, Vol. I, No. 2 (January 1895).

From MISS ALICE WRIGHT—Newspapers and clippings pertaining to the arrival of Admiral Evans' Fleet at San Francisco, 1908; *The People's Library*, New York, Vol. II, No. 74; *New San Francisco Magazine*, San Francisco, Vol. I, No. 1 (May 1900).

MANUSCRIPTS

From MRS. RALPH H. CROSS—Autograph Album Containing the Signatures of the Members of the Constitutional Convention of California in 1878-79.

From MR. ROGER ALDEN DERBY—Letters of Capt. Bradford Ripley Alden, U. S. A., written mainly from Ft. Jones, from March 1852 to March 1854.

From MR. ALBERT DRESSLER—Dressler, Albert, "San Francisco's Town Journal, 1847-'48, Acquired," San Francisco, 1947 (typewritten).

From MRS. MARY JOHNSON—Blodget, Cynthia, San Francisco—"The City" (typewritten).

From the ESTATE OF MRS. HARRY MORRIS MARTIN—Note from Mrs. Herbert Hoover; photostat copy of Bancroft's *Handbook Clippings* on Cherokee by Maurice Washington Martin.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER—Death Certificate of Charles F. Cook signed by Dr. William H. McKee in Monterey on June 25, 1845; National Poll Tax Receipt of W. F. Johnson, Monterey County, 1862; Undated Note to "Mi Amigo" signed José María Maldonado.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Collection of 25 negatives of people and scenes of Northern California; Negatives of plates in Edward Vischer's *Pictorial of California*.

From CALIFORNIA ALUMNI ASSOCIATION—Series of photographs of the covers for the *California Monthly*, beginning September 1947.

From MR. H. P. DAVIS—Ten post cards: Reproductions from old prints of points of historical interest in Nevada County.

From MRS. BEATRICE DREUSIKE—Photograph album; Post Card: Scene of Grass Valley; Twenty-one photographs of the Carson, Campbell, and Upton Families of Grass Valley and Eureka, and of scenes and individuals in Grass Valley and Eureka.

From MR. EDWARD EBERSTADT—Eight stereoscopic views pertaining to California.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER—Five photographs: Dr. Heinemann and Family, George Chatterly, George Telfer, Mr. and Mrs. Strong, and the daughter of Dr. Trowbridge of Napa and her friend, Mrs. Mary Lucas Wright.

From the ESTATE OF MRS. HARRY MORRIS MARTIN—Two post cards: Presbyterian Church, San Rafael, California; Photograph of Mrs. Thomas A. Edison and her cousin, Mr. Julius M. Alexander.

From MRS. C. A. MAXWELL—Six photographs of scenes in San Francisco.

From MRS. GEORGE F. NEWTON—Early map of North America (framed); Photograph: Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill.

From CAPT. R. E. O'NEILL—Two photographs: Corner of Waller and Fillmore Streets, San Francisco; Buckman's Company at the corner of Waller and Fillmore Streets, San Francisco.

From MRS. M. SCHLICHTMANN—Three photographs: President Lincoln; U. S. Navy Yard and city of Vallejo; Vallejo Livery Stable, Vallejo.

From MISS LILLIAN F. WEEKS—Photograph: Ruins of San Francisco, from Lawrence Captive Airship, May 29, 1906.

From MISS ALICE WRIGHT—Photograph: San Francisco, To-day, as viewed from Rincon Hill, showing the remarkable results, accomplished since the great fire of April, 1906.

MISCELLANEOUS

From the CONSULATE-GENERAL OF FRANCE—Medal by Georges Guiraud presented to the California Historical Society by the government of France in commemoration of the unveiling of the monument to the memory of Jean François Galoup de La Perouse, Carmel Mission, Sunday, September 14, 1947.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—Card for Grand Fete, afternoon and evening, Idora Park, Saturday, October 6, 1906, auspices of the Ladies' Relief Society, Oakland.

From MRS. BEATRICE DREUSIKE—Two programs: First invitation party of the Myrtle Social Club at Reform Hall, on Monday Evening, December 25, 1882; Dedication ball by the Salida Opera House Association at the Salida Opera House, January 1, 1889; Miner's candlestick; Memorial badge for Abraham Lincoln.

From MRS. LOUISE FALKENAU HAAS—Badge of the Committee of Safety; Notice of a meeting of the Committee of Safety, July 26, 1877; Material on Louis Falkenau; Badge of the San Francisco Fire Department, Exempt Co. 771; Two stock certificates: Atlantic Gold and Silver Mining Co. and Gold Hill Silver and Copper Mining Co.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Southern Pacific ferry ticket; Meal ticket from the Montgomery Hotel; Railroad tickets: Seven from the Northwestern Pacific Railroad Company; Three from the Southern Pacific Company; One from the North Shore Railroad; One from the Georgetown Railroad.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER—Tree Blaze from the trail leading to the Mission San Antonio; Trumpet used by drivers of the Bixby-Flint Stage Lines.

From MR. ERNEST SPINKS—U. S. Army, Corps of Engineers, Expedition of 1876, explorations and surveys west of the 100th meridian, location of Mount McKesicks.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Miscellaneous collection of clippings, tickets, invitations, programs, pictures, ticket books, pamphlets, and Jubilee Souvenir Brooch.

From MISS ALICE WRIGHT—Collection of clippings on the 1906 Fire and Earthquake and following Reconstruction; Miscellaneous collections of newspapers and clippings; Program: Memorial service, Horatio Stebbins, D. D., First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, Sunday, April 13, 1902.

GIFTS OF REMEMBRANCE

Contributions to the Library Fund have been received by the Society in memory of the following persons:

Mrs. Harry Morris Martin, mother of Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt.

Mr. A. Leslie Oliver, brother of Mr. Edwin L. Oliver.

Meetings

The first luncheon meeting of the Society during the final quarter of 1947 was held on September 14th at Casa Munras, Monterey, in conjunction with the officers and guests of the Consulate General of France. Before the luncheon, a plaque in honor of Lapérouse was unveiled at Carmel Mission, the exercises being, most appropriately, under the auspices of the Consulate General. The Society was fortunate in being represented by one of its own members, Raoul H. Blanquie, D.D.S., in the post of luncheon speaker.

Jean François Lapérouse, with his two ships, came to anchor in Monterey Bay on September 15, 1786. He was only forty-five years old at the time, and yet, because of his personal exploits, especially his destruction of England's Hudson Bay forts in 1782, he had been considered worthy to command an expedition sent out by the French government with the backing of King Louis XVI, in an attempt to restore to France some of her exploring prestige lost to the English during the second half of the 18th century. One qualification in particular in his favor was his humanitarian attitude toward defeated enemies. By analogy, this trait had bearing upon the present expedition, as it was to be undertaken, throughout, with the minimum loss in personnel. It will be remembered that Capt. James Cook, whom Lapérouse admired greatly, had tried for the same goal in his second expedition (i. e., to the Antarctic in 1772-75). Upon his return, Cook lectured at the Royal Society in London on the means he had employed to conserve his men, and had been awarded the Copley Gold Medal in consequence.

As Lapérouse's expedition was designed to be scientific in character, the officers, crew, and equipment (including a library) were chosen to further that aim; a single commercial interest only was to be looked into, namely, the discovery of a site from which to ship furs to China. Dr. Blanquie listed the intricate scientific matters planned for investigation, among them the botany of the regions visited. Not only were specimens to be gathered by the explorers, but large stocks of European plants, as well as seeds and young trees, were loaded on board at the French port and were to be given in exchange for foreign native flora and silva. International cooperation was seen in the loan of two of Captain Cook's compasses. All told, the ships *La Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*, composing the expedition, were manned by 238 persons of various station and capacity.

The start was made from Brest on August 1, 1785. After rounding Cape Horn and touching at Juan Fernandez, Easter Island, and on Maui in the Sandwich group, they set sail for the northwest coast of North America, to search, as has been said, for a fur-trade site, and also, in the interest of geography, for a passage leading eastward to Hudson Bay. They explored the southern coast of Alaska for several days, where the first accident suffered by the expedition occurred. Two cutters, in attempting to make

soundings, were caught in the current of a strait leading to a bay (designated by them Frenchman's Bay, now known as Lituya Bay), and were overturned. None of the missing men could be found, although the expedition, in looking for them, overstayed its schedule, which required the two ships to be in the China Sea at the season considered most favorable for navigation.

Instead of making detailed investigations of the coast on their way south, therefore, they decided to stop only at Monterey. As it was, strong winds and fog enabled them to take only occasional observations of capes and mountains. During a chance lift in the fog on September 7, 1886, the expedition saw a volcano in eruption, which was probably Mt. Lassen, the speaker thought. He mentioned Lapérouse's map of the coast, which in spite of difficulties with wind and fog the expedition's draughtsmen succeeded in making. It was not published until 1798, owing to internal strife in France (in May of 1789 occurred the convening of the States General, called by some the opening act of the French Revolution, and on January 21, 1793, Louis XVI was guillotined). By the time the map was published, the geographic names assigned by Lapérouse had been superseded by others given by English navigators.

Lapérouse's vessels were assisted to the anchorage at Monterey by the authorities, and salutes were fired from shore and shipyard. Shortly after the French officials landed, large stocks of beef and vegetables were sent on board by Captain Fages' orders, the civil, military, and churchly authorities claiming the privilege of making the vessels welcome, but refusing absolutely to accept payment. "Fages," Dr. Blanquie said, "opened his home to Lapérouse and placed all of his subordinates at his command." The Frenchmen not only brought news from Europe to the resident Spaniards but exhibited, besides, the refinements of continental civilization as it was practiced at the court of Versailles—polite manners, brilliant uniforms, buckled shoes, and powdered wigs. At San Carlos Mission, Father Fermín Francisco Lasuén welcomed them with every evidence of hospitality, and supplied much of the information they sought on the native tribes. Of Father Lasuén, Lapérouse said that he was "one of the most estimable and reputable men that I have ever met." Study of the natives by the expedition's anthropologists, and of the fauna, etc., by other experts, resulted in the writing of treatises of considerable value. Included in the bird studies, for instance, was one on the California quail (drawn and described for the first time), and another on a bird later named the California thrasher.

One fact impressed Lapérouse particularly. Although Spain was maintaining establishments in California, she did not seem to derive any material benefit from them. Her representatives appeared to be motivated entirely by feelings of piety. He criticised, on the other hand, certain practices of the missionary system, whereby the fathers, who lived their own lives with severe austerity, were inclined to consider insufficiently the physical con-

dition of their native charges. He would like to have had the Indians given the right to a certain amount of property, which would have encouraged each to cultivate his land in a spirit of emulation. He believed that because of the slow progress being made under Spanish rule in California, it would take at least a century before the region would attract the attention of other maritime powers. The chief engineer of the expedition went so far as to say that progress would come only with the penetration of the Americans, whose independence and hardihood the French admired, from the east coast across the continent to California. Dr. Blanquie then read an extremely gracious letter, dated September 18, 1786, from Father Lasuén to Lapérouse. It was found in the archives of the Santa Barbara Mission and had only recently been published. With the letter went presents of three native reed baskets and a tool of stone, made by the Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel and considered so highly by Father Lasuén that he wrote of them, "there have not been found any objects of greater importance than these."

In return for the many generousities received by the expedition, Lapérouse sent ashore blankets, beads, tools, including two small flour mills, seeds, and especially some Chile potatoes, which the French commander thought would prosper in the light fertile soil of the Monterey countryside. These were in due course distributed among the natives by Father Lasuén.

On the morning of September 24th the two ships set sail, thus ending "the story of the first French in California." One feels that the value of the scientific observations they made were such that they will never lack recognition, nor will the timeliness of their gifts to their hosts, especially the plants and trees, be forgotten. In closing, Dr. Blanquie reviewed briefly the work done by Lapérouse and his associates in Chinese and Japanese waters, and finally their tragic loss on the reefs of Vanikoro Island, one of the New Hebrides, probably in early spring 1788. Fortunately the expedition's scientific findings and Lapérouse's own journal had been sent on to France, but the collections that had been assembled were lost.

At the luncheon meeting on October 9th, Laurence E. Bulmore, speaking on "Life at New Almaden," made clear to his hearers that the social details in the vicinity of a mine can be of quite as much interest as the engineering and other problems connected with it. Mr. Bulmore spoke from inside experience, as he was born in one of the old adobe cottages, and, upon his father's promotion to general managing agent, the family moved into the casa grande.

Social life at the mine may be said to have started when the Indians first began using the red ore, cinnabar, in powdered form mixed with tallow, as the source of the moketa with which they painted their bodies. From its continued application they became ill with mercurial poisoning. Thereupon arose the "Legend of New Almaden," which explained how they were cured and how the cinnabar proved useful at Mission Santa Clara in 1826.

The successive steps, from the discovery of the true value of the ore to its intensive development, were outlined by Mr. Bulmore, including mention of the parts played in the mine's early history by Andrés Castillero and by Father Real of the mission. The mine was opened in November 1845, according to the speaker; but as his theme was the story of a community rather than the mining of quicksilver, his address was concerned mostly with the manner of settlement and the traits of the settlers.

Mexicans were the first workers to come. They settled on a knoll adjacent to the main tunnel, while the Cornishmen, who came later, established themselves opposite, across a small gulch, the two camps forming "The Hill." Sixteen hundred feet below was the hacienda. The speaker described the uniqueness of the manager's residence, the casa grande, at the extreme lower end of the hacienda, saying that it was built in 1855 along classical architectural lines. Some thirty years afterwards the grounds around it were landscaped under the direction of John McLaren of Golden Gate Park fame. With the Mexicans came, of course, their customs, chief among them being the baile la carnival (or Cascarone Ball, as it was called at New Almaden), the main annual event socially at the mine for over sixty years. In religious matters, the Mexicans did not allow the visible signs of their faith to fail them while working underground. In one of the cavernous ore chambers they erected a shrine to La Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, set in a niche carved in the solid rock. The gentle figure wore a white gown, red slippers, and an elaborate headdress. Candles flickered cheerily beside her in the gloom and shone on the head and shoulders of each kneeling Mexican miner as he went on shift and returned.

As for the customs of the Cornishmen, one mentioned in particular by Mr. Bulmore was the drilling contest at summer picnics. Teams, of two miners each, drilled granite blocks for 15 minutes, with 15 drills per team and eight-pound hammers, the winning team being that which excavated the deepest hole in the time allowed. In winter, these English miners entertained themselves at what were known as "tea treats," held in the social hall of their church.

The turn of the century sounded the knell for large-scale mining at New Almaden. There was, said the speaker, a brief influx of workers during the first and second world wars, "when high prices for quicksilver made the working of the old drifts and dumps profitable." But at the present time, although the mine lives on in the recollections of the former residents, the dwellings of the workers on "The Hill" have disappeared and the hacienda is only a faint reminder of what it once was.

The Papal Bull of Alexander VI, with its modification the next year owing to Portugal's objections, assigned to that country all newly discovered lands to the *east* of an imaginary NS line 370 leagues west of the Cape

Verde Islands, and to Spain all such lands *west* of said line. In spite of this, after a fifty-year period of exploration and conquest such as the world had never seen, between Columbus' discovery of America in 1492 and Cabrillo's arrival in San Diego Bay in 1542, Spain refrained from further conquest. Why was it? Why did Spain's prodigious achievement die out? This stimulating question was placed before the luncheon meeting of the Society on November 13th by Gen. David Prescott Barrows, former president of the University of California, teacher, radio commentator . . . and author of *History of the Philippines*, with the comment that reflection on it might illuminate our own times.

During those fifty years, which coincided with portions of the reigns both of Ferdinand and Isabella and of their grandson, Charles I of Spain (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V), Spain exhibited all the elements of a so-called dominant race over weaker peoples. Besides exploration, her expansion included conquest, settlement, and administration, ruthless but effective. Here General Barrows called the role of the great-sounding names of Spain's heroes and of the regions and cities that fell before them. By way of illustration, he mentioned Prof. Samuel Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, Pulitzer prize winner in 1942, in which the author re-lives all four of the Genoese Spaniard's voyages.

The typical Spanish explorer-navigator, the speaker said, was also a valorous soldier. As the course of conquest proceeded into the sixteenth century, warfare changed, new weapons came into use and new styles of troop organization, though the sites of battles might remain the same. A recent instance of this in the Old World was when Gen. Mark Clark fought in the same area on the Garigliano in Italy as did Gonzalvo de Córdoba, El Gran Capitán, when he defeated the troops of Louis XII of France, four and a half centuries earlier.

Just before the end of the fifty-year span 1492-1542, a great spurt occurred. Hernando De Soto, Pedrarias D'Ávila's son-in-law, who had been with Pizarro in Peru, landed in Tampa Bay on May 25, 1539, and spent three years seeking El Dorado, the gilded man, on the northern continent of the New World. He discovered and crossed the Mississippi and penetrated other areas, but found no fabulous treasure, and so retraced his steps to the Mississippi. Further west, on and beyond the wide buffalo plains of what is now Arkansas, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado was looking for the Seven Cities of Cibola with their fabled stocks of gold. They could have met west of the Mississippi; but each, disappointed in his quest, turned back, De Soto to die and have his fever-stricken body deposited in the river he had discovered, and Coronado to face a cold reception and resign from the governorship of New Galicia, after having established a record for length of march in the New World.

In those unparalleled fifty years were a few lacunae. Four islands of the

Greater Antilles were part of their conquest—Cuba, Española (Santo Domingo and Haiti), Jamaica, and Porto Rico—but not the Lesser Antilles. Why? Was it because the Aruacs, the Indians of the Greater Antilles, were tractable, whereas the Caribs (caribes, canibales, cannibals) were ferocious and warlike? Not until later did the British, Dutch, and French do more than touch on the Guiana coast, which was part of Carib territory. At this point in his address, General Barrows mentioned Adolphe Bandelier's South American version of El Dorado in *The Gilded Man*, published some fifty years ago.

Another of the lacunae in Spanish expansion was, that although with Cabrillo's landing at San Diego Spain became aware of California, she neglected it—she did not follow up exploration with vigorous administrative measures. Could such change of policy be explained on the grounds of a change in Spanish character, whereby, having reached the Pacific, she stopped so far as intensive exploration was concerned, although the expedition of the Portuguese Magellan sailing in the service of Spain had, upon its return in September 1522, revealed to an astonished world that ocean's great expanse? Here the speaker discussed in some detail the history of the Manila galleon, the adaptability of the area of the trade winds for eastward navigation and the difficulty of the westward return voyage, until Father Andrés de Urdaneta, starting from Cebú in the Philippines, made Acapulco along a northeast route, with a landfall at Cape Mendocino.

Spain's failure to pursue her former path of glory, said Dr. Barrows, might have come about through the crushing of initiative in the individual as a result of increased centralization in the government—the rise of a certain wary tough-mindedness among the central planners, who, as bureaucrats, could not brook deviation from their orders. Another of the many sides of the question is the statistical fact that Spanish manpower declined during those fifty years. In 1492 the Jews had been expelled from Spain, depriving the country of a large body of industrious and skilled citizens. Less tangibly, there are evidences of a loss of spirit among the Spanish, a loss of vigor, but how *explain* it? Personal names had been of great significance, then they go. Viceroy, yes, but a dearth of geniuses. The great ones did not beget offspring.

Placing the question thus in the foreground, the speaker suggested, might stimulate some graduate student to lose himself in a study of this stupendous era, in which, nevertheless, the seeds of deterioration must have been present. Genetics would enter into its solution; in fact, nothing could be said not to enter into it.

In Mexico, before the fifty years had passed, Spain built with Roman permanence. But although, later, in California, her missionary establishments were full of promise, instead came solitude and decadence.

In Memoriam

ERNEST ABRAM WILTSEE

Ernest Abram Wiltsee died in Sacramento, California, on September 29, 1947. Although he was not a native Californian, he had an intimate knowledge of and a keen interest in the history and geography of the state. He became a member of the California Historical Society in 1930; the following year he was elected to the board of directors and served as first vice president of the Society for more than ten years.

Mr. Wiltsee was born on September 30, 1863, in Dutchess County, New York. His parents were of colonial Dutch and French ancestry. He was educated in the state of New York and received the degree of Engineer of Mines from Columbia University in 1885. He came to California in 1888, but after a stay of four years was attracted to the gold mines of South Africa and went to Johannesburg as an assistant to John Hays Hammond. There his successful mining career began. Later enterprises took him to many foreign countries for months and years at a time, but he always returned to San Francisco, where he had established residence in 1896.

Always interested in sports, Mr. Wiltsee as a young man earned his membership in the Tuna Club. For several years he owned the famous racing schooner *Aggie* and was the last commodore of the well-remembered Pacific Yacht Club. He loved football and his knowledge of the game was respected by sports authorities.

Of Mr. Wiltsee's published articles and books on California history, his best-known work is *Gold Rush Steamers* (San Francisco, 1938), an important part of which deals with the early hand-stamped covers of the express companies and other agencies. His collection of stamped covers, now in the History Room of the Wells Fargo Bank, is one of the finest in the country.

Although his love for California kept him in the West for so many years, he now lies, in accordance with his wishes, in the Poughkeepsie Rural Cemetery in what he called "the family plot overlooking the beautiful Hudson River."

ELEANOR ASHBY BANCROFT

MAXWELL CLAYPOOL MILTON

A California and Arizona engineer of large experience, Maxwell C. Milton (b. San Francisco, July 16, 1881; d. Oakland, October 13, 1947) prepared for his professional career at the University of California College of Mining, from which he graduated in 1904. His first position after graduation was as engineer and surveyor for the North Star Mines in Grass Valley. It was there that he and the writer shared the same boarding-house for several years, and remained good friends continuously. From Grass Valley, Max-

well Milton went to the Phelps Dodge Company's Copper Queen Mine, in Bisbee, Arizona. Thereafter he was successively consulting engineer (1911-17) with headquarters in Tucson, Arizona; geologist for the United States Mining and Smelting Company at Mammoth, Shasta County, California (1917-30), and member of the San Francisco stock-brokerage firm of Newell, Murdock & Railey, which, in 1938, he reorganized into Coons, Milton & Company. At the time of his death he was senior partner of this firm.

The above list of Mr. Milton's professional and business interests shows how continuous and demanding they were during the sixty-six years of his life; however, he managed to fit in such diversions as domino playing at the Engineers Club of San Francisco, golf at the Claremont Country Club in Oakland, and "extra-curricular" studies such as California history, and the political and other subjects that enter into the issuing of postage stamps and covers, of which he had a fine collection.

Maxwell Milton married Josephine Johnson of Oakland on March 6, 1917. To their relatives and to their hosts of friends their home at 424 Monte Vista Avenue in Oakland and their country place at Lake Tahoe have always been centers of happy living and hospitality.

Mrs. Milton, their two children, Maxwell Pierce Milton and Ann Milton Lovejoy, and a granddaughter, Jo-Ann Lovejoy, survive him.

E. L. OLIVER

Two recent deaths among its membership are announced with extreme regret by the Society: Ernest Dawson (b. San Antonio, Texas, Dec. 1, 1882; d. Los Angeles, Nov. 15, 1947), whose enviable qualities as book collector and dealer had fame far beyond Los Angeles where he maintained his headquarters; and Raymond L. Haight (b. San Jose, July 18, 1897; d. Los Angeles, Sept. 2, 1947), grandson of former Gov. H. H. Haight and member of the law firm of Haight, Tripett, & Syverston. Mr. Haight was a graduate and generous alumnus of the University of Southern California, and a friend and political supporter of Gov. Earl Warren of California.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
Gordon G. Hair	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
George Hoberg	Hoberg's	Membership Committee
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. James Hamilton Allen	San Francisco	Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Arnold E. Archibald	San Francisco	Membership Committee
S. Belither	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Elbridge J. Best, M.D.	San Francisco	Selah Chamberlain, Jr.
Brown University Library	Providence, R. I.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Simon Bolivar Buckner	San Francisco	Anson S. Blake
Charles H. Carr	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Mary Donohoe Carter	Santa Barbara	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
John Conyngham Catlin	Carmel	Membership Committee
Miss Anita M. Crellin	Dutch Flat	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Helen Dormody Crystal	Placerville	Herbert E. Bolton
Leon de Fremery	Oakland	Membership Committee
Mrs. Frances G. Dunn	Burlingame	Mrs. Charles G. Riley
Stewart C. Eastwood	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Harlan D. Fowler	Whittier	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Thomas G. Franck	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Richard N. Goldman	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Walter A. Haluk	Palo Alto	Kenneth K. Bechtel
Allan Crosby Hardison	Santa Paula	Membership Committee
Elgin T. Hittell	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Dale R. Hollingsworth	Berkeley	George L. Gary
Covington Janin	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Kenneth M. Johnson	San Francisco	Membership Committee
A. P. Johnston	Altadena	Membership Committee
Emmett P. Joy	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Irwin M. Lord	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Walter H. Lowell, D.D.S.	Oakland	R. R. Stuart
Robert C. MacKenzie	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Hon. Robert McWilliams	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Martin C. Madsen	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Cyril Magnin	San Francisco	Membership Committee
J. Ogden Mills	Mill Valley	Membership Committee
Lee H. Newbert	Oakland	Membership Committee
Oakdale Union High School District	Oakdale	Membership Committee
Poets of the Pacific, Inc.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
RKO Radio Pictures, Inc. —		
Research Dept.	Los Angeles	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
James B. Ransohoff	San Francisco	Membership Committee
John Redington	San Mateo	Warren R. Howell
Alfred L. Riccomi	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Charles G. Riley	San Francisco	Membership Committee
F. Ray Risdon	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
John G. Rogers	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Miss Marie R. Rogers	San Francisco	Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
R. G. Rydin	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Thomas N. St. Hill	San Francisco	Membership Committee
George R. Smart	Inglewood	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Sonora Union High School	Sonora	Carlos La Moine
Mrs. George P. Tallant	Palos Verdes Estates	Membership Committee
Mrs. Waller Taylor	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Johnson A. Thomas	Walnut Creek	Aubrey Neasham
Mrs. Frederick P. Vickery	Sacramento	Healey Tondel
A. W. B. Vincent	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Lionel Wachs	Piedmont	Joseph R. Knowland
Robert E. Wade, Jr.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Arlington C. White	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. F. S. Whitwell	Boston, Mass.	Robert E. Easton
Walton A. Wickett	Palo Alto	Warren R. Howell
Dwight L. Wilbur, M.D.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Miss Jane Wilson	San Francisco	Mrs. Charles G. Riley
Alfred Wright	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. C. Jackson Zane	San Francisco	Membership Committee

Marginalia

Frederick A. Culmer, a lawyer and teacher, is professor of political science in Central College, Fayette, Mo. He received his education at St. Peters, Thanet, Kent, England, at the University of Missouri, and at Vanderbilt University. A list of Professor Culmer's writings may be found in the *International Who's Who*.

Joel E. Ferris, author of the biographical sketch on his father, Hiram G. Ferris, received his A.B. degree in 1895 from the University of Illinois. His professional interests have been centered in investment banking, first in Kansas City, Mo., and, upon coming west, in Spokane, where he established the firm of Ferris & Hardgrove in 1913. Mr. Ferris is now chairman of the Spokane & Eastern Division of the Seattle-First National Bank. Aside from banking, he has been connected with educational as well as horticultural organizations (he is a skillful amateur gardener)—with Whitman College, for example, of which he is an overseer, the Eastern Washington Historical Society, and the Spokane Park Board.

For biographical note on Henry R. Wagner, see this *QUARTERLY*, XXV (December 1946), 378-79; *ibid.*, XXVI (June 1947), 186, for note on Robert F. Heizer.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Arnold E. Archibald, president of the San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan Association, is a native of Belfast, Ireland. He has resided in the United

States since 1902, and from over forty years of travel and study knows California and the adjoining states intimately.

The widow of Lt. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, Adele Buckner, is an accomplished member of the San Francisco Society of Women Artists in Photography. With her husband, who at the time was in command there, she was in Alaska from 1940 to 1944, observing and photographing and then organizing her material into color motion-picture film. Since then she has been repeating the process in California, including among her studies San Francisco and the ghost towns of the mother lode.

Before coming to California in 1929, Charles Hardy Carr, a graduate of Vanderbilt University and of the Yale law school, practiced his profession three years in Memphis, Tenn., following his admittance to the Tennessee bar in 1926. From 1933 to 1940 he served the country first as assistant U. S. attorney at Los Angeles and then as special assistant to the attorney general of the United States. Since 1940 he has been in private practice in Los Angeles, with an interruption between 1943 and 1946 when he was U. S. attorney, southern district of California.

After being granted a teacher's certificate at the University of California in 1914 and teaching at Mills College and in Oregon at Grants Pass high school (followed, after a year of war work, by another year as a teacher at the Modesto high school), Miss Anita M. Crellin returned to the university in 1923 and completed the library course. Since then, except for a three-year trip abroad, she has devoted herself to special libraries work.

Mrs. Helen Dormody Crystal's M.A. thesis at the University of California in 1933 was "The Beginnings of the Town of Vacaville, Solano County," for which she prepared under Dr. Herbert E. Bolton. Students of that delightful place will be glad to know where adequate source material can be found. Her professional work has taken her also into El Dorado County, where she served as counselor of Freshmen and teacher of English I at the El Dorado County high school in Placerville.

A name prominent in east bay annals is that borne by Leon de Fremery, scion of a family of Dutch descent who have lent their business and artistic abilities to the state's growth since the arrival of his grandfather, James de Fremery, in San Francisco in 1849. Mr. de Fremery graduated from the University of California in 1911 and from the Harvard law school three years later. He is a member of the law firm of Morrison, Hohfeld, Foerster, Shuman & Clark. To his inherited abilities he has added expertness in navigation, both as lieutenant in the air forces during World War I and as commodore of the St. Francis Yacht Club in 1941.

Hon. Preston Devine, judge of the Municipal Court, whose name was listed among the new members in the September 1947 *QUARTERLY*, is a

native of San Francisco. He received his LL.B. degree from the University of San Francisco, later taking graduate work at the University of California, where he was awarded an M.A. on the basis of a thesis concerned with the history of the charters of the City and County of San Francisco. In 1927 he commenced the practice of law, first with his brother, George Devine, Jr., and later in association with John J. Lermen of the Society of California Pioneers. Judge Devine was appointed assistant district attorney by Matthew F. Brady in 1938, served in that capacity for five years and in 1946 was appointed municipal judge by Gov. Earl Warren. He has continued his study of the history of the state, on which he is a fluent speaker.

From 1899 to 1947 is a short interim in which to docket all the recorded activities of Stewart C. Eastwood, when one considers that at least eighteen of those years were spent in the mere process of growing up. Mr. Eastwood is a native of Vermont. He enlisted in the navy in 1917 and aided in transporting an assortment of freight on ships of all descriptions over the earth's full complement of oceans until 1920 when he commenced the requirements for an A.B. degree in English, with a minor in anthropology, at the University of Pennsylvania. Field work in the latter subject took up much of his time from 1924 to 1929. At the outbreak of World War II, he again entered the navy and served where the fighting was thickest. Now this young man, who is nevertheless old in global experience, is studying at the University of California at Los Angeles for an M.A. degree in Spanish-American literature, with a generous amount of anthropology included.

The inventor behind the ingeniously conceived (and named) "Fowler Flap"—which reduces the landing speed of aircraft as well as assists on the take-off when they are heavily laded—is Harlan D. Fowler, a native of Sacramento and an aeronautical engineer of thirty-two years' experience. His paternal grandparents arrived in San Francisco from Boston in 1850. Instead of risking their fortunes at the mines, they decided, as they were agriculturists, to enter the dairy and egg business, and found it profitable. Eventually they settled in Lincoln, California.

Another air-minded new member: a study of early aviation experiments in California, which should prove most timely both as history and as technology, is being made by Kenneth M. Johnson, assistant counsel for the Bank of America. Mr. Johnson graduated from Stanford University in 1926 and, partly as source material for his own researches, has been making a collection of Californiana.

Hon. Robert McWilliams, judge of the Superior Court in San Francisco, is a native of Neola, Iowa. He received his J.D. degree at the University of California in 1906, and from 1909 to 1912 resided in the State of Washington as assistant city attorney of Spokane and then as chief deputy prosecuting attorney of Spokane County. Before becoming judge of the Superior Court in 1939, he taught for eight years at Hastings College of the Law (1920-28),

served for fifteen years as dean of the San Francisco Law School, and during the last six years of his term there was chief assistant U. S. attorney. Judge McWilliams is a valued contributor to legal and other periodicals.

Students of social and private-press items in the history of San Diego and Los Angeles should find it profitable to communicate with F. Ray Risdon, attorney of Los Angeles, who has made a special study of such matters. Mr. Risdon is a native of National City, California, and completed his legal training at the University of Southern California in 1911.

R. Y. Rydin, executive representative of the president, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System, has been with the company since 1916 when he entered it at eighteen years of age as pass clerk in the office of the president at Chicago. Here he was born and received his education. Mr. Rydin's headquarters have been in California since 1944 although, as he says, "he fell in love with it long before I moved here."

T. N. St. Hill, a graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University in 1917, served in the army two years and in 1920 came to California. He first became interested in the oil business in which he continued until 1940, when he was made president and general manager of the Tea Garden Products Company of San Francisco. He is a member of the Contra Costa Republican Central Committee and one of the directors of the Contra Costa County Development Association.

Joaquín Murieta's name is not likely to be forgotten by members of George R. Smart's family, for he shot young Smart's great-grandmother's first husband, Sheriff Buchanan of Yuba County, as the latter was trailing the bandit with a posse in the middle 1850's. George Smart was born in April 1931 and is a junior in the Inglewood senior high school. He has acquired a library of some fifty volumes on California history and is reinforcing it with photographic material taken by his father on their week-end trips to historic spots.

Lionel Wachs' father, Aaron Nathan Wachs, came to California via the Isthmus of Panama in the late 1850's, after a fifty-one day journey from New York. His son Lionel graduated from the California College of Optometry and Ophthalmology in 1910. He had several years' experience in the drug and cigar business in various parts of the state, but since 1914 has specialized in business real estate in Oakland.

Robert E. Wade, Jr., was born in New Haven, Connecticut, graduated from Harvard College in 1927, and came to San Francisco shortly thereafter. Since graduation, Mr. Wade's business interests have been mainly in advertising. At present he is with the Bristol Advertising Service, a division of Safeway Stores, Inc.

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ERRATA

- Page 50, line 18 from foot, for H. A. Turner read H. S. Turner.
 Page 126, line 19, for 1849 read 1850; four lines below, for earlier in read during.
 The captions for Plate IVa and Plate IVb, following page 126, should be transposed.
 In caption for Plate VIa, opposite page 128, for Watkin's read Watkins'.
 Page 235, line 11 from foot, for James Bidwell read John Bidwell.
 In Table of Contents for December 1947, and on page 380, for Frederick A. Culmer read Frederic A. Culmer.
 Page 344, line 2 from foot, for Note 2 read Note 1.

